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JOHN WICLIF'S

POLEMICAL WORKS

IN LATIN

FOR THE FIRST TIME

EDITED

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

ENGLISH EDITION.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

In this second volume the Polemical Tracts of Wiclif against the Sects are continued and brought to a close, being followed by the Tracts against the Pope.

Owing to the circumstance that the German Edition in one volume was printed first, the paging is carried on in this second volume where the first broke off. References, therefore, may be to the pages of either. The Indices given on pages 715—840 comprehend the matter printed in both volumes.

As this very moment whilst correcting this last sheet, there comes under my notice a new publication on the relation of John Hus to John Wiclif (Hus und Wiclif. Zur Genesis der husitischen Lehre. Von Dr. Johann Loserth, ord. Prof. der Geschichte an der Universität zu Czernowitz. Prag, Tempsky und Leipzig, Freytag, 1884. X. 314 pp).

To it I would draw the attention of my readers. The Author, Dr. Loserth, shows, that the whole Husite movement is nothing more or less than a Bohemian Wiclifism. As he puts in on pages 1—2, the 'name of Wiclif was for many years the banner under which a powerful party in Bohemia strove and struggled.' He even goes so far as to say that 'Hus owes to Wiclif nearly the whole of his

theology as set forth in his Latin Tracts', and that 'it was in upholding Wiclif's teaching Hus lost his life.'

And not only does the Author make these statements — he proves his assertions in their minutest details (comp. page 161 ff., and Vol. I of the present edition p. XIII).

Dresden, Vitzthum Gymnasium: October 31, 1883.

Rudolf Buddensieg, *Dr.*

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

abbrev. = *abbreviated*
add. = *added*
cap. = *capitulum*
cf. = *confer*
chap. = *chapter*
cod. (*codd.*) = *codex* (*codices*)
col. = *column*
compend. = *compendium*
corr. = *corrected*
cp., comp. = *compare*
cr. out = *crossed out*
e. g. = *exempli gratia*
Expl. = *Explicit*
ff. = *following*
f. i. = *for instance*
fol. = *folium, folio*
ibid. = *ibidem*
i. e. = *id est*
Inc. = *Incipit*
in mar. = *in margin*
l. = *line*
lin. = *linea*
mar. = *margin*
m. of ref. = *mark of reference*
n. (*not.*) = *note*
om. = *omitted*
p. = *page*
repeat. = *repeated*
texthd. = *texthand*
ud. = *underdotted*
underl. = *underlined*
v. = *verse*
viz. = *videlicet*
w. m. of ref. = *with mark of ref.*

CORRIGENDA IN VOLUME II.

Page 395 *line* 17 *read* quitas Amorreorum
„ *431* „ *4* „ hereticorum, de quibus | foret Anglia expurganda. Primi | sunt symoniaci, qui sunt omnes pape |
„ *450* „ *32* „ m. u. *CDβ*
„ *460* „ *31* „ autem *EF*
„ *461* „ *13* „ occiduum
„ *461* „ *34* „ inimicis *CDE*
„ *463* „ *29* „ quam *EF*
„ *530* „ *24* „ multas
„ *561* „ *18* „ Cristi! *Here follow the five first lines of cap. VIII, then the text is continued line 19:* Hic dicitur *etc.*
Page 613 line 6 read sepe[a]
„ *618* „ *8* „ eisdem[c]
„ *628* „ 23 „ pugnare
„ *641* „ *1* „ DE CHRISTO
„ *659* „ *17* „ sua
„ *659* „ 22 „ principium
„ *666* „ *32* „ necessario *BCD*
„ *670* „ *18* „ romanam
„ *678* „ *35* „ si *ACD*
„ *681* „ *24* „ *comp. 42, 1*
„ *713* „ *18* „ *QUATTUOR*
„ *716* „ *39* „ Husites
„ *717* „ 2 „ Lollards
„ *717* „ 28 „ Minorites
„ *717* „ 7 „ Picards
„ *721* „ *1* „ *OF BIBLE-QUOT.*.

WYCLIF'S POLEMICAL WORKS.—WYCLIF SOCIETY.

CORRECTIONS.

VOL. II.

i,	Preface, l. 9	*for*	As	*read*	At.
	l. 17	,,	puts	,,	puts it.
395,	l. 14	,,	Gomoreorum	,,	Amorreorum.
429,	l. 6	,,	whith	,,	with.
	l. 2 from foot	,,	troughout	,,	throughout.
450,	n.	,,	Franziscans	,,	Franciscans.
453,	n.d.	,,	passages	,,	passage.
481,	n. q.	,,	Clemens	,,	Clement.
486,	l. 21	,,	espesially	,,	especially.
489,	l. 25	,,	similiar	,,	similar.
580,	l. 10	,,	helfers	,,	helpers.
610,	n. c.	,,	unwortly	,,	unworthy.
636,	l. 25	,,	wordly	,,	worldly.
663,	n. f.	,,	plain	,,	plane.
684,	n.c.	,,	advanved	,,	advanced.

XII.

DE SOLUTIONE SATANAE.

DE SOLUTIONE SATANAE.

I. Division.

Thesis: How is Apoc. 20, 7 to be understood? chap. I

Argument: Proof, when the loosing of Satan took place, chap. I—II

Conclusion: The Sects are to be suppressed, chap. II.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *Gregory's opinion with regard to the loosing of Satan, so far as it refers to the first thousand years of our era, must be limited, p. 391—392; it is to be compared with Scripture, p. 392. Since the Ascension of our Lord, Satan has undoubtedly been „loosed" in many ways, but this is not to be understood in a literal sense. Neither is the exact number 1000 meant in the Holy Scriptures, but rather the time during which Satan's tools (the* fratres*) have crept into the Church, and seduced it by their lies and deceit, p. 393—394. Since then, Satan has been loosed, and (as Gog and Magog) has led many heathen astray, p. 395. — How this has come to pass, is proved by the example of the Four Sects. — By Gog, the Pope, as head of the* clerus cesareus, *is to be understood; by Magog, the three remaining Sects, p. 395—396.*

Chap. II. *But their freedom will not be of long duration, for the measure of their sins (here the Crusade to Flanders is alluded to) will soon be accomplished, p. 396—397. The more so, because they persecute, as heretics, the few pious and upright Christians who remain*

true to their faith, whilst they themselves must be accused of heresy, especially in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, p. 398. They do not know what is the right doctrine, and, instead of preaching the faith of the Church openly to believers, as the Gospel requires, they do not venture to proclaim their views publicly, but only teach them privately in the schools, contrary to the express commands of Scripture, p. 398—399. — The country ought to remedy this and consider for what reason it allows these Sects to be so great an expense, and kings, lords, and laity should combine to drive out Antichrist, to fight against the dark designs of Magog, and to kindle the light of the pure orthodox faith, p. 400.

III. Date of Composition.

The discussion regarding the Lord's Supper is in the Tract supposed to have already taken place, cp. chap. II, p. 398: heretici omnes occidui nesciunt *etc., also the Crusade to Flanders, chap. II, p. 396, which took place in the summer of 1383. Since, at the same time, from* pugnaverunt *(not* pugnant*) p. 396 line 17, the conclusion of the campaign may be taken for granted, the compilation of the Tract falls after October 1383. The violent attack upon the Pope as* precipuus anticristus *p. 396 line 2—3, which in this manner could happen only in the last phase of W.'s papal contest (cp. Lechler, I, 581 ff.) suits well this period.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Bale, Summ. fol. 156[b].

(2) cod. A, front cover.

(3) cod. E, Index on the front cover.

(4) cod. β, Index on the front cover; as to (2) (3) and (4) see above General Introd. IV. Descript. of the codices.

(5) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1440; 1450; 1454; 1466.

(6) Shirley, Catal. No. 30. p. 12.

(7) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.

(b) Internal evidence:

(1) see above General Introd. V, e.

(2) *cp. the many references to the Four Sects, the order of their names, the exspoliation of England, the Crusade etc. etc.*

(3) *here also, as in Trial. 153; 249 the* error de hostia consecr. *is described as in connection with the* solucio Sathane

(4) *cp. Trial. 249 with the passage* hostia consecr. est natural. *etc., p. 398; Trial. 251 with* ubi indubie demonstr. pron. *etc. ibid.*

(5) *cp. also W.'s view of the* solucio Sath. *with Lechler, J. v. W. I, 514.*

(6) *cp. cap. I, note e; f; II, f; l.*

V. *Hitherto unprinted.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 185^c—187^a A^1 = *Corrector*
cod. 4527 = C fol. 17^a—19^a C^1 = *Corrector*
cod. 3930 = D fol. 166^c—168^d { D^1 (Magog) / D^2 = *Glosser* }
cod. 1337 = E fol. 102^b—104^d E^1 = *Glosser*
cod. 1387 = K fol. 107^b—108^c *without a Corrector*
(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)
cod. III. G. 11. = β fol. 220^b—223^a { β^1 = *Glosser* / β^2 = *Corrector* }
(the latter in the Univers. Library at Prague).

VII. The Manuscripts.

After having formed my text, and finished the MS. for the printer, I was allowed to make use of the codd. D and K in the Imperial Library of Vienna, for a short time. Later I had also access to β. I have, indeed, taken them into some account for the text; but as the short Tract presents too little material for forming a judgment on the Mss., I have to confine myself to a few short notices.

I. The codd. A—E again form a group; for in almost each case in which C (or DKβ) disagree with them, they agree with one another, even where they clearly give what is false, compare chap. I,

n. 6; 10; 19; 20; 27; 43 and this continues so to the end. But the material before us is not sufficient to prove whether E has been copied from A, which appears to me not improbable.

So far as I can see, D—K are also related, compare, for example, chap. I, n. 17; 20; 52 etc. etc.

II. As to which is the best codex, I may remark, that amongst the few decisive readings, C is by far the most frequently correct.

The group A—E, especially the careless E, is exceedingly corrupted.

K is not much better, compare chap. I, n. 5; 9; 13; 14; 18; 20; 30; 32; 37; 46; 52; 54; 57; 61; 62; 66; 70; 72; 75; 84 etc. etc. This may suffice.

D is unreliable, since it can be proved that it does not follow its original closely, but has often been copied according to the sense, or, at least, carelessly in its way, compare chap. I, n. 44; 48; 76; 78; II, 14; 15; 23; 34 and 56.

I, therefore, give the text according to cod. C.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE SOLUCIONE SATHANE.

Pexlitic responosi Soihnnai[1] Giamtris ar ad metan[2] cusiudma liemu tisvetari.[3]

CAP. I.

‖ [4] Quantum ad obiectum fratrum, quod non sane intelligitur scriptura de | solucione Sathane post mille annos,[5] ut in Apocal.[a] legitur, | quia ut allegatur Gregorius[b] 18 Moralium[6] super isto textu: vi | di angelum descendentem[7] de celo etc.[8] et[9] ligavit Sathanam per annos mille, hic oportet non millenario numero quantitatem temporis, sed universitatem, qua regnat[10] ecclesiam, designari.[11] Unde ‖ *O fol. 17a lin. 6*

CAP. I. [a] *cap. 20, 1—2* [b] *cp. Greg. Opp. (Edit. of the Benedict.) Paris 1705, tom. I, 588*

CAP. I. [1] Soihnnaiu *C, the* u *ud.* [2] *in mar. is add.* ga *C* [3] *i. e.* Explicit responsio Johannis Magistri ad arg*(u)*menta cuiusdam emuli veritatis Explicit de salutacione angelica, continet 3 capitula *A (fol. 185b below)* Incipit de solucione Sathane *E; as in A it is here preceded by* De salutacione angelica de solucione Sathane post mille annos *β (preceded by* De apostasia) De solusione *(sic)* Sathane *K (preceded by* De quatuor imprecacionibus) *Expl. and Inc. om. D* [4] *cod. A fol. 185c lin. 1 cod. D fol. 166c lin. 25 cod. E fol. 102b lin. 31 cod. K fol. 107b lin. 56 cod. β fol. 220b lin. 19* [5] post m. a. *ACDEβ om. K* [6] Moralium *CDβ* moris *(?) AE om. K* [7] descendentem *ACDE* descentem *β (compend. om.) om. K* [8] etc. *ACDE om. βK* [9] Gregor. 18 mor. — et *ACDEβ* et *K* [10] regnat *CDKβ* repugnat *AE* [11] designari *ACDEβ* designare *K*

dicunt fratres, Sathanam magis[12] fuisse[13] solutum in primo millenario propter persecucionem ecclesie in Cristo et eius membris, quam in[14] secundo, in quo, ut cernimus,[15] dicunt fratres, non molestatur ecclesia, nisi a paucis hereticis.

Dicitur quantum ad istam instanciam refugorum,[16] quod primo admitti debet dictum beati Gregorii,[17] de quanto fidei scripture consonat ac eciam racioni, nec amplius voluit Augustinus[c] nec alii sancti catholici citra[18] auctores scripture racionabiliter sibi credi. Conceditur igitur,[19] quod multi sunt anticristi et sic sathane, quia I Ioh. dicitur secundo[20][d]: nunc anticristi multi facti sunt, et sic a tempore ascensionis domini usque hodie dyabolus[21] multis vicibus est solutus. Non enim intellegi debet hoc dictum propheticum, quod malignus[22] spiritus per membra sua cum funiculo aut cathena ferrea in tartaris sit ligatus, cum sit spiritus carens omnimode istis membris, sed per ligacionem Sathane intelligitur, quod post ascensionem domini est suspensa temptacio sue nequicie, ut[23] fuit postmodum temptaturus. Cum autem efficacia[24] sue temptacionis stat in instrumentis[25] perversis, ut malis hominibus, membris suis, et militans ecclesia deteriorando procedit, spiritus sanctus intellexit per mille annos non precise quantitatem temporis, ut videtur dicere[26] beatus Gregorius,[e] sed tempus,[27] quousque sui ministri perversi sunt notabiliter in ecclesiam introducti, quod indubie contigit pro illis temporibus, quibus false[28] secte quatuor subintrarunt; et sicut novit spiritus illud tempus quoad notabilitatem, occupaverat[29] mille annos, et sic in primo mil-

[c] *cp. Aug. Opp. (Edit. of the Bened.) Venet. 1729, 1735, tom. IX, 98 De Baptism. contra Donat. II, 3* [d] *v. 18* [e] *see above p. 391 note b*

[12] Sath. m. *ACDEβ* m. Sath. *K* [13] fuisse *ACDEβ* esse *K* [14] quam in *ACEβ* qua in *(? quasi) D* quomodo *K* [15] cernimus *AEKβ,C in mar.* terminus *C* cermimus *D* [16] refugorum *corrected by β¹ from* refugarum *β* [17] beati Greg. *ACE* Gr. be. *DK* Greg. *β* [18] citra *ACDEβ* circa *K* [19] igitur *CDKβ* ergo *AE* [20] Ioh. dic. secundo *C* Ioh. dic. *(sic, blanc space) DK* Ioh. IIº *AE* Ioh. IIº dic. *β* [21] ascens d. u. h. dyab. *ACDEK* asc. dyab. *β, but in mar. is add.* dom. u. h. *β²* [22] malignus *ACDEβ* mlignus *K* [23] ut *Cβ* nec *ADEK* [24] efficacia *ACDEβ* efficacio *K* [25] instr. *in β corrected by β²* [26] dicere *ACDEK om. β, but add. by β² in mar.* [27] tempus *CDKβ* quod sic *AE* [28] false *ACE* isto *DKβ* [29] occupaverat *AEβ* occupaverant *CDK (here the compendium is either erased, or effaced, but still to be recognised)*

lenario sepe secundum gradum aliquem solutus est Sathanas. Sed in secundo millenario, quando mendaces secte[30] plene[31] suborte[32] sunt mediante ypocrisi, amplius est solutus,[f] quia habet per falsos fratres organa, per que callidius seducit[33] ecclesiam, cum ex fide non nisi per mendacia aut ypocrisim ornat sua subdola instrumenta, et sic, quando fratres subintroierant,[34] qui excellenter ornantur mendacio ac ypocrisi[35] per instrumenta sua, quibus seducit ecclesiam, nota ‖ biliter est solutus. In cuius confirmacionem dicant ‖ *C fol. 17b* fratres, si sciverint, quod ex Cristi auctoritate sive licencia subintrarunt,[36] quod cum nesciunt[37] et fides scripture dicit Ioh. 10[g] quod,[38] qui non[39] intrat per hostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendit

[f] *This view of the matter in question is entertained not only by W., but by nearly all the divines of the Middle Ages in consequence of a misinterpreted passage (Apocal. 20, 7). W. himself very often recurs to it, cp., for instance. Trial. 361 ff.; again Festival Sermons XXIV No. 1. cod. 3928, fol. 130a; Festival Sermon No. XL ibid. fol. 80c (printed by Lechler I, 594 n. 4). In the Trialogus 153; 240; 249; 362, the solutio is spoken of as a known certain point in history. As to this, cp. Arnold, S. E. W. II, 206: fro þe tyme þat þe fend was unbounden, þe þridde pope Innocent brouȝt þis (the auricular confession) inne, cp. the same idea Arnold. I, 133, where the loosing of the Satan is referred to as in close connection with the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, and Matthew, E. W. h. u. 3. — This view of the matter was likewise a very common one in the Middle Ages; cp., for instance, the memorial which in 1102 during the conflict on the Investiture was directed to Paschales II.; in it: Satan is loose and is in great anger, is once and again repeated: Satanas solutus iam divisit regnum et sacerdotium — millenarium mendacii; cp. Festival Sermons No. XVI, fol. 31d (Lechler I, 595 Annot.). — Woodford, Wiclif's clever opponent, turns the point of this view against Wiclif himself: sed miror, unde acquisivit in hoc Iohannes Wicliff tale privilegium, quod omnes doctores de secundo millenario seducti sunt per Sathanam illo solo excepto, cp. Tract. de Peregrinac. ad loca sancta, MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 635* [g] *v. 1*

[30] secte *ACDEβ om. K* [31] plene *in K add. in mar. by the texthand* [32] suborte *ACDEβ* suborti *K* [33] call. sed. *ACEKβ* sed. call. *D* [34] subintroierant *ACDEβ* subintroierunt *K* [35] ypoc. *ACEKβ* acit *(cr. out & ud.)* ypocr. *D* [36] subintr. *in β corr. by β²* [37] nesciunt *ACDEβ* vescuntur *K* [38] quod *ACDEβ om. K* [39] non *in β add. in mar. by the texthand*

aliunde,[40] ille fur est[41] et latro, evidens est, quod omnes secte iste quatuor cum suis partibus sunt latrones et specialiter in hoc, quod sunt precipua organa sathane ad simplices in ecclesia seducendum. Spiritus ergo[42] sanctus in prophetia Iohannis[h] voluit sathanam in in parte esse ligatum per mille annos et in secundo infami millenario esse solutum, ut per instrumenta sua, que callide introducit in ecclesiam plus copiose,[43] simplices in fide errantes per mendacia[44] et ypocrisim seducantur. Et hunc sensum beatus Gregorius nec nititur nec potest probabiliter reprobare.[45] Cum enim ordinacio Cristi fuit sufficiens, quoad status et membra ecclesie, qua[46] frivola ficticia fuerunt secte[47] introducte! Cum enim secundum fidem, quam sepe[48][i] dicit apostolus, presbiteri non debent esse ecclesie onerosi, quis color, permittere antiquos[49] perversos presbiteros et[50] incorrectos et inducere[51] novos ad onus ecclesie, qui sunt ex maiori ypocrisi signorum, que querit generacio adultera, populi seductiva?[52] Et sic wlt beatus Gregorius, quod non intelligatur prophecia Iohannis precise secundum quantitatem temporis[53] mille annorum, sed quod sathanas in secundo millenario, quando preparabit sibi instrumenta magis subtilia, amplius est solutus. Et hec est una causa, quare[54] spiritus sanctus sic explicat[55] mille annos. Nam Apocal. 20 sic habetur[k]: et vidi angelum descendentem de celo, habentem clavem abissi et cathena magna[l] in manu sua, et apprehendit draconem, serpentem antiquum, qui est dyabolus et sathanas, et ligavit eum per annos mille et misit eum in abissum et clausit et signavit super illum, ut non seducat amplius gentes, donec consummentur mille anni. Post hec oportet illum solvi modico tem-

[h] *cp. Apoc. 20, 2* [i] *cp., for instance, II Cor. 11, 9; I Thess. 2, 9; II Thess. 3, 8* [k] *v. 1—3* [l] *the textus rec. reads:* catenam magnam

[40] aliunde *ACDKβ* aliude *E (compend. om.)* [41] f. e. *ACDEβ* e. f. *K* [42] ergo *ACDEβ* igitur *K* [43] copiose *CDKβ* copiosa *AE,β*[2] *(here corr.)* [44] mendaces (daces *cr. out & ud.)* dacia *in D* [45] improbare *(cr. out & ud.)* reprobare *in D* [46] qua *β* quam *CAE* que *K* [47] secte *C* secte alie *ADEKβ* [48] quam sepe *ACEKβ* sicut *D* [49] ant. *in β corr. by β*[2] [50] et *ACDEβ* *om. K* [51] inducere *C* introducere *ADFKβ* [52] seductiva *β* seductivi *ACE* seducti *DK* [53] temporis *CDEKβ* tempis *A* [54] quare *ACDEβ* quia *K* [55] explicat *ACDEβ* exaltat *K*

pore. Improbent fratres, si sciverint, istam glosam[56] vel apponant[57] aliam meliorem.

Unde sequitur in textu Apocal.[m]: et cum consummati fuerint mille anni, solvetur sathanas de carcere suo, et exibit et[58] seducet gentes, que sunt super quatuor angulos terre, Gog et Magog, et congregabit eos in[59] prelium, quorum numerus est sicut arena maris. — Videtur autem salvo meliori iudicio, istum textum sic sane posse intelligi, quod post mille annos, vel ab ascensione domini, vel a tempore huius visionis Iohannis, sathanas, hoc est, principalis dyabolus, solvetur de suo carcere, hoc est, non tot penas ex profectu militancium tolerabit. Cum enim sit primum subiectum invidie, est inclusus in carcere, quando vidit cristianos ambulantes secundum legem Cristi proficere. Quando autem completa est iniquitas *(Go)*moreorum,[60] hoc est, peccata a Cristo declinancium sunt completa, quod erit post mille annos ad literam post ascensionem domini, tunc sathanas est solutus, hoc est, habet potestatem ex collecto[61] peccato in suis organis || ad populum amplius[62] seducendum. || *C fol. 18a*

Seducet[63] autem hic sathanas tamquam principalis dyabolus gentes occiduas principaliter, que[64] habitant in Europa.[65] Ille autem sedent super quatuor angulos terre, quia quatuor secte, scilicet cleri cesarei, monachi, canonici atque fratres, sunt terrene,[66] quia temporaliter colligate et secundum geometrorum principia, angulus est duorum linearum alternus[67] contactus. Illi autem, qui quiescunt in legibus istarum sectarum quatuor, quoad ambitum terrenorum, sedent super quatuor angulos terre et sunt principales discipuli anticristi, signanter autem sedent, quia plus habentes[68] prosperitatem temporalium, non sunt a dyabolo et membris eius adeo molestati, ut[69] hec[70] quatuor membra dyaboli cum suis compli-

[m] *v. 7*

[56] sentenciam *(cr. out & ud.)* glossam *in D* [57] apponant *ACDEβ* apponent *K* [58] et *ACDEβ* ut *K* [59] in *ACDEβ* ad *K, but in mar.* in *(text-hand)* [60] *all the codd. read* amor reorum [61] ex collecto *ACDEβ* extolles *K* [62] amplius *ACDEβ* *om. K* [63] seducet *CDKβ* seducit *AE* [64] que *ACEKβ* qui *D* [65] Erupa *(cr. out & up.)* Europa *in C* [66] terrene *CDβ* treno *K* terre *E,A (corr. from* terrene) *in C is add. in mar.:* Quatuor secte [67] alternus *CDEK* alterius *A (?) β* [68] habentes *ACDEK* habentem *β* [69] ut *ACE* et *DKβ* [70] hec *ACDEβ* habet *K*

cibus[71] possunt dici Gog et Magog.[72] — Gog[73] enim, quod interpretatur doma[74] vel tectum, videtur significare papam,[75] qui est nobis occiduis[76] precipuus anticristus.[77] Magog autem, quod interpretatur de domate vel de tecto, videtur significare suos discipulos, ut sunt tres secte[78] sequentes. Que secte faciunt ipsi[79] Gog obedienciam temporalem et alios monent, ut faciant. Ipsi autem possunt signanter dici[80] de tecto vel domate; de tecto quidem, quia conversacionem humalitatis[81] Cristi cum aliis suis[82] virtutibus tegunt[83] quantum sufficiunt; et[84] superbiunt de excellencia sui status tamquam in domate. In isto enim dimissa Cristi humilitate atque pauperie extolluntur, et sic iste papa dicitur signanter tectum, quia tegitur undique per Magog mendaciis, ypocrisi et commentis aliis[85] falsitatis.

CAP. II.[1]

Et cum hec[2] tumefactiva superbia non sit pacifica, necesse est, ut congreget consentaneos suos in prelium, hoc est, propter defectum fidei eos faciat compugnare. — Sic enim per Gog et Magog Anglici invadentes Flandriam pugnaverunt, et sic est de bellis aliis, que Cristus prophetat esse futura in fine seculi.

Ideo signanter dicit iste propheta, quod numerus illorum est sicut arena maris, quia, ut patet Matth. 7,[a] domus talium super perfidia[3] est fundata et sunt in[4] magno numero, quia lata est via,

CAP. II. [a] *v.* 26

[71] membra d. c. s. compl. *CDK* mem. c. s. dyab. com. *AE* memb. c. s c. dy. *β* [72] Gog et Mag. *ACDEβ* Gog et Gog et Mag. *K* [73] *in E is add. in mar.:* Gog et Magog *in C is add. in mar.:* Interpretacio Gog et Magog [74] donu *in β corr. by β²* [75] papam *ACDEβ* populum *K* [76] occiduus *(cr. out & ud.,* occiduis *in D* [77] *in E is add. in mar.:* Papa precipuus anticristus [78] di *(cr. out & ud.)* secte *in D* *from here on I do not notice any more these sligh faults of the careless D* [79] ipsi *ACDEβ* ipi *K (compend. om.)* [80] p. s. d. *CDK* s. p. d. *AEβ* [81] conversacionem humilitatis *ACDEβ* conversacio humilis *K* [82] suis *ACDEβ* *om. K* [83] tegunt *CDKβ* regunt *AE* [84] et *ACDEβ* ut *K* [85] aliis *ACDEK* *om. β, but corr. by β² above* falsitatis

CAP. II. [1] *There is no division into chapters in the codices* [2] hec *ACEK* hoc *D* [3] perfidia *ACDEβ* perfidiam *K* [4] in *ACEKβ* *om. D*

que ducit ad tartarum, et multi transeunt per eam, ut patet[5] Matth. 7,[b] dicit[6] Cristus.

Sed cum Psalmo 36[c] dicitur[7]: inimici domini mox ut honorificati fuerint et[8] exaltati deficientes, quemadmodum fumus, deficient, signanter dicit iste[9] propheta: post hec oportet illum solvi odico tempore, quia paulo ante diem iudicii convertetur[10] populus [11] versuciam[12] anticristi, et tempus interceptum[13] erit modicum, r quod ante diem[14] iudicii populus per anticristi versucias sedutur.[15] Nam[16] in comparacione ad tempus a mundi exordio usque uc et in comparacione ad tempus[17] a die iudicii usque ad perpetuitatem seculi post hunc[18] diem illud tempus, in quo[19] antiistus regnabit, erit modicum. Verumtamen periculum illius temris erit magnum, quia ut Matth. 24[d] dicitur: erit enim tunc ibulacio magna, qualis numquam fuit ab inicio mundi usque odo, neque fiet, et nisi breviati fuissent dies illi, non fieret[20] lva omnis caro.

Et ideo in parte verum dicit procurator secte Gog, quando icit, quod in secundo millenario vivent prospere militantes preter aucos hereticos, qui anticristum, qui est ecclesia malignancium, molestabunt. Sicut enim Cristus vocatus fuit blasphemus, quod st pessima pars heresis, sic pauci fideles, qui stant hodie in eritate legis domini, vocati[21] sunt heretici a parte contraria anicristi. Et cum multi sunt vocati, pauci || vero electi, verum est, || *C fol. 18b* quod pauci sunt nomine tenus heretici, qui tunc stabunt. Et cum generacio adultera signa querencium plus attendit[22] ad sensibilia quam ad solidam veritatem, minimum imponit[23] mendacium dictis

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[b] *v. 13* [c] *Ps. 37, 20* [d] *v. 21—22*

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[5] patet *ACDE* *om. K, β, but here corr. into the text by β²* [6] dicit *ACEKβ* dixit *D* [7] dicitur *CDKβ* *om. AE* [8] et *ACDEβ* *om. K* [9] iste *ACDEβ* ille *K* [10] convortetur *ACDEβ* comitatur *K* [11] ad *CDK* a *AEβ* [12] verciam *D* versucia *AECKβ* [13] interceptum *CDKβ* interpretum *AE* [14] diem *CEKβ* *om. D* [15] seducetur *ACEKβ* seducet *D* [16] nam *ACDEβ* mam *K* a mundi ex. u. i. et i. c. ad t. *repeated in K* [18] hunc *ACDEβ* huc *K* ompend. om.) [19] in quo *CDKβ* per quod *AE* [20] fieret *ACEKβ* fiet *D* vocati *ACDEK* *om. β, but corrected by β² above* sunt [22] attendit *AEβ* atditur *CDK* [23] imponit *ACEKβ* imponitur *D*

Cristi, quod tempore[24] imperatorum, quo corporaliter persecuta fu ecclesia stetit in maiori periculo quam modo, quando est per se hereticas persecuta. Sed veritas, que plus appreciatur perse cionem et malum anime quam[25] corporis, dicit, quod istud p culum hominum interiorum, qui illo tempore perduntur[26] ad t tarum, est maximum. Et sic illo tempore sunt heretici ma spissi, quia quatuor secte[27] predicte, si fas est dicere, sunt heret manifesti[28]; et a mundi exordio non inveniet homo in tantis sec hereticos congregatos. Nam omnes hee secte quatuor negant verbis vel opere conversacionem Cristi, cum prosperitatem mu danam appetunt et persecucionem propter veritatem ewangelica auffugiunt. In cuius signum deus ex sua gracia stultificaverat ist sectas,[29] quod heretici[30] omnes occidui nesciunt vel non aude detegere fidelibus, quid sit hostia consecrata[31]; sed unus dic quod est[32] quantitas sine subiecto, secundus[33] dicit, quod est qu litas sine subiecto, tercius, quod est[34] accidens sine subiecto quartus et ultimus, quod est aggregacio accidencium sive nichil et omnes illi heretici non audent dicere in materna lingwa fidelib quid sit ipsa hostia consecrata.[35] Et multi fideles non sunt tantu sua perfidia excecati,[36] quin noscant in isto perfidiam dogmat anticristi, quia Cristus[37] dicit in ewangelio,[e] quomodo accepit pane in manibus, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis[38] dicens: a cipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, hoc est corpus meum, ubi i dubio demonstrativo pronomine intellexerat illam panem, et co secrata hostia est naturaliter verus[39] panis et figuraliter[40] virtu

[e] *cp. Matth. 26, 26*

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[24] tempore *ACDEβ* tempus *K* [25] persec. et m. a. quam *ACDKβ* pe secu. quem (quem *ud.*) quam *E*, *in mar. is add.*: et mal. an. [26] perduntur *A DEK* perdurantur *β* [27] qu. s. *ACEKβ* s. qu. *D* [28] manifesti *ACDEK* m gis spissi *(underlined)* manifesti *β* [29] sectas *ACEKβ* quatuor sect. *D* [30] here tici *ACEK* heretice *Dβ* [31] *in β is add. in mar.*: De hostia consecrata *β*[1] [32] e *ACDEK* sit *β* [33] secundus *in K corr. from* tercius [34] tercius, qu. est *ACE* tercius dicit quod est *D* tercius est *K* [35] *in E is add. in mar.*: De quidditate hostie consecrate *E*[1] *(?)* [36] excecati *ADEKβ* cecati *C*, *but* ex *is add. in mar.* [37] Cristus *ACEKβ* ipse *D* [38] suis *CDKβ* *om. AE* [39] verus *ACDEβ* *om. K, but add. in mar. (by texthand)* [40] figuraliter *ACDEβ* figuralis *K*

verborum domini corpus suum. — Fratres autem et secte alie non audent testimonio sufficienti, ut sub sigillo communi,[41] detegere in isto fideli populo fidem suam, quod est signum evidentissimum sue heresis manifeste. — Nam cum debet esse una fides ecclesie, quam nec anticristus[42] nec creatura aliqua potest infringere, patet, quod fidelis audacter et catholice usque ad mortem debet[43] fidem istam[44] audientibus publicare.[f] Unde Ioh. 18[g] dicit dominus: ego palam locutus sum mundo, ego semper docui in sinagoga et in templo, quo omnes Iudei convenerant, et in occulto locutus sum nichil. — Magog[45] autem non audet prodere fidem suam nisi in privatis scolis, in quibus[46] ipsi et sui complices congregantur, fidem autem suam non audent de tegere palam[47] communibus cristianis. Similiter Cristus Matth. 5[h] precipit: sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, quia ut ibidem[i] dicit: nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum,[48] ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt. Cum igitur[49] candela vel lux huius[50] lucerne debet esse fides ecclesie, patet, quod audacter debet[51] tam fidelibus quam infidelibus publicari. Non igitur[52] possent isti heretici esse magis suspecti de heresi, quam sic in ista materia suam[53] perfidiam || abscondere. Similiter Cristus || C fol. 19a precipit Matth. 10[k]: quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine, et quod in aure auditis,[54] predicate super tecta. Iste autem secte private,[55] cum quoad fidem suam sunt[56] condicionis opposite, manifestum est, quod sunt[57] discipuli anticristi, qui timet falsitatem quam suggerit,[58] discipulis suis fidelibus palam detegere, ne forte suum mendacium cognoscatur.

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[f] *as to this, cp. De Christo et s. adv. cap. VII conclusion; also p. 126* [g] *v. 20* [h] *v. 16* [i] *v. 15* [k] *v. 27*

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[41] communi *ACEβ* suo communi *DK* [42] anticristus *ADEKβ* cristus *C* [43] deb. *ACDEβ* suam deb. *K* [44] istam *ACEKβ* suam *D* [45] *in K the words* cutus sum nichil *are om. in D is add. in mar.:* Magog *D*[1] [46] *in C* in quibus *is repeated* [47] det. pal. *ACEβ* pal. det. *DK* [48] *in D is add. in mar.:* candela vel lux *D*[2] [49] igitur *CDKβ* ergo *AE* [50] huius *ACDEβ* hius *K* [51] debet *CDEKβ* debet *(? oportet) A* [52] igitur *CD* ergo *AEKβ* [53] suam *ACDEβ* sua *K* [54] auditis *CDKβ* audistis *AE* [55] private *ACDEK* predicate *β* [56] sunt *ACEKβ* fuit *D* [57] sunt *ACDEβ* sint *K* [58] suggerit *CDEKβ* timet *(ud.)* suggerit *A*

Cum igitur[59] regnum Anglie annuatim expendat in ministris anticristi tot milia marcarum subducta mania anticristiva,[l] in qua cecantur occidui, diligenter inquireret, quid sit illud, quod tam sumptuose consecrant regno suo.

Ideo reges, duces, comites et alii seculares domini et domine instarent fideliter circa istud.[60] Sicut enim una gutta non cavat lapidem, sed guttarum magnarum et parvarum multitudo, que minutim et sepius cadendo incutit illud saxum, sic instancia[61] multorum et magnorum fidelium in ista perfidia extingweret anticristum. Nec videtur, quod illi sint fideles ex parte domini Iesu Cristi, qui non iuvant ad istam heresim confutandam. Magog enim, hoc est de tecto, quamvis ad tempus modicum abscondat suas hereses atque ypocrises, necesse est tamen finaliter, quod omnia in luce clarescant, tam veritates, quam eciam falsitates.

Eya, milites Cristi, ut filii lucis, sicut mandat apostolus,[m] ambulate, et saltem subtrahendo a Magog communicacionem et temporale suffragium, quousque veritatem fidei sue[62] detexerit, excutite orthodoxe fidei lucem veram.[63]

Ludo swietcom[64]
Plexicit de Sanetha Enciosolu.[65]

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[l] *cp. above De quatt. Sectis nov. cap. II p. 244 note a* [m] *cp. Eph. 5, 8; I Thess. 5, 5*

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[59] igitur *CDβ* ergo *AEK* [60] istud *ACDEβ* istudem *K* [61] instancia *ACDEβ* in con (con *cr. out)* instancia *K* [62] sue *ACDEK* *om. β, but corr. into the text by β²* [63] veram *CK* veram etc. *AEβ* veram etc. et sic est finis huius tractatus *D* [64] *only in C; old-bohemian, perhaps: a witness to the people; if so, the two words are purposely chosen by the copier, for by transposing the single letters they read:* de soluciom *(ne)* W*(iclif)* [65] *i. e.* Explicit de Solucione Sathane Tractatulus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *A* *om. D* Explicit de solucione Sathane Incipit de septem donis Spiritus sancti, cap. I *E* De purgatorio *K* de vaticinacione capitula duo *β*

XIII.

DE MENDACIIS FRATRUM.

DE MENDACIIS FRATRUM.

Thesis: it is not right to make the preaching of the Gospel dependent on the authority of the bishops. The Apostles, especially St. Paul, sought no such permission from St. Peter. His claim is, on the contrary, a cunning device invented by the Father of Lies.

We may look upon this short fragment, which appears to be a paragraph, or extract from one of W.'s genuine works, as designed to stir up the nation against the intrigues set on foot by the Friars, to discredit W.'s lay preachers. W. often refers to the thesis which stands at the head of the fragment as one that ought to be opposed; cp., for instance, p. 224 above; further Festival Sermos No. 8, cod. 3928 fol. 17ᵇ: **videtur ergo, quod ad esse talis ministerii ecclesie requiritur auctoritas acceptacionis divine et per consequens potestas atque noticia data a deo ad tale ministerium peragendum, quibus habitis, licet episcopus secundum tradiciones suas non imposuit illi manus, deus per se instituit.** *Cp. further the original document of Archbishop William Courtney, of Canterbury, of 30th May 1382, which is directed against the ,unlicensed' itinerary preachers, Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 158 ff.* **Quidam aeternae damnationis filii sub magnae sanctitatis velamine auctoritatem sibi vindicant praedicandi tam in ecclesiis quam in plateis et aliis locis prophanis dictae nostrae provinciae non verentur asserere, dogmatizare, et publice praedicare,** *Fascic. Ziz. 275 ff.: as to this matter, cp. Knighton in X Script., col. 2658; Walsingham, H. A., I, 324. W. repeatedly defends the cause of his friends, cp. the passages in Lechler, J. v. W. I, 422, Note. On this*

account we can hardly be wrong in placing this small Tract abo the year 1382.

Of its authenticity there can also scarcely be a doubt: all t Wiclif catalogues in Vienna include it; further cp. the old Indic in cod. A und J und Denis, Cod. MS. II, 1444; 1450; 1455, as we as Shirley, Cat. No. 88 p. 28, and Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568. —

With regard to the MSS., I add that a cursory comparison c the various readings (note 3; 4; 6; 8; 9; 10; 13; 14; 15; 16), a well as the Title and Explicit, prove the relationship between J—A and A—C.

J and K are probably derived one from the other. They hav been faultily copied (note 6; 8; 10; 14), therefore A or C, which ar of equal value, may be taken as a basis of the text.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE MENDACIIS FRATRUM.[1]

|| [2]Pseudofratres publicant,[3] quod non licet sacerdotibus predicare, nisi ad | hoc habuerint specialiter licenciam ab episcopo vel papa, quia, ut false asserunt, omnes | alii apostoli habuerunt licenciam sic a Petro. || *C fol. 146b lin. 15*

Falsum quidem est utrumque|[4] medium; primum ex hoc, quod[5] dyaconus, in quantum huiusmodi, et sacerdos specialiter habet licenciam[6] ewangelium predicandi, quod iniciative[7] practizant[8] fratres in suis capitulis, licet ab episcopo non ad hoc licenciam habuerunt[9] specialem.[a]

Secundum autem est manifeste falsum ex hoc, quod vas eleccionis[b] sepe predicavit populo, antequam vidit[10] Petrum[11] ad Gal. 2,[c] Act. 9.[d] Nec alius[12] apostolorum legitur a Petro habere specialem licenciam ad hoc opus.[e]

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[a] *As to this, cp. Fest. Serm. No. 8, cod. 3928, fol. 17b:* videtur ergo *etc., see above Introd. p. 404; also below De Daem. merid. p. 424* [b] *St. Paul* [c] *v. 1 ff.* [d] *v. 15—16; 20* [e] *cp. below De Christo et s. Adv. cap. VI*

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[1] *Expl., Inc. and Title not given in AC* de mendaciis fratrum *JK* [2] *cod. A fol. 208c lin. 3 cod. J fol. 30b lin. 16 cod. K fol. 107a lin. 12* [3] publicant *AC* replicant *JK* [4] utrumque *AC* utrimque *J* utrinque *K* [5] quod *ACJ* quia *K* [6] ha. lic. *AC om. JK* [7] iniciative *ACK* imitative *J* [8] practizant *AC om. JK* [9] habuerunt *AC* habuerint *JK* [10] vidit *AC om. JK* [11] petrum *ACK* petrus *J* [12] alius *ACJ* aliquis *K*

Quis igitur[13] licenciavit pseudofratres sic seminare mendaci inter gentes? Revera, nullus nisi pater mendacii, qui est speciali patronus omnium talium pseudofratrum.[f] Patet auctoritas Marc ultimo,[g] Luc. 10,[h] XXI[14] dist. cap.: Clericos Gregorii,[i] XLIII[15] dist. cap.: Sit[16] rector,[k] XCV[17] dist. cap.: Ecce, ego, Hieronymus[l] et Gregorii omelia VI in fine[m] etc.[18]

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[f] *a reproach frequently made by W. to the Mendicants on account of their lies* [g] *v. 15—16* [h] *v. 2 ff.* [i] *cp. Corp. iur. can. (ed. Richter-Friedberg, Leipzig 1880) tom. I Decr. II. P. p. 853* [k] *cp. ibidem Decr. I. P. p. 153* [l] *cp. ibid. Decr. I. P. p. 333* [m] *cp. Gregorii Opp. (Edit. of the Bened., Paris 1705) tom. I p. 1455*

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[13] igitur *C* ergo *A* autem *JK* [14] XXI *AC* 441 *JK* [15] XLIII *AC* XLIIII *JK* [16] sit *AC* sic *JK* [17] XCV *AC* et V *J* CV *K* [18] *without Explicit C* Epistola ad lincolniensem *A* ' Descripcio fratris i. e. monachi mendicantis *JK*

XIV.

DESCRIPTIO FRATRIS.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DESCRIPCIO FRATRIS.

Descripcio fratris i. e. monachi mendicantis.[1]

‖[2] Pseudofrater degens in seculo est | dyabolus incarnatus cum ‖ *K fol. 107b lin. 11* adinventis | suis signis sensibilibus, despon|satus ad seminandum dis-discordias in militante ecclesia, ex summa cautela sathane machinatus.

Conclusio de officio regis.[3]

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[1] *This in red ink (K[1]) in K, likewise in J (J[1])* [2] *J fol. 30b lin. 45*
[3] *this in red ink (K[1]) in K, likewise in J (J[1]); there is no variation occurring in the two codices which contain this short fragment.*

XV.

DE DAEMONIO MERIDIANO.

DE DAEMONIO MERIDIANO.

I. Division.

Thesis: the prelates of the English Church are full of sins against the Holy Trinity, cap. I;

(1) against the omnipotence of the Father, cap. I

(2) against the wisdom of the Son, cap. II

(3) against the goodness and charity of the Holy Ghost, cap. III.

(Purpose of the Tract is to induce the temporal Lords and the people to make an end to the encroachments of the rich beneficed clergy.)

II. Summary of its Contents.

Chap. I. *The Author begins his argumentation by alluding to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which is more and more neglected, p. 417—418. Nobody is allowed to sin against the omnipotence of the Father, unless he is punished for his wrongdoings, p. 419. In England especially there is, at present, much offence given by the rich clergy who in more than one point sin against God's law. For their wealth and worldliness is (1) against the will of God; (2) through it they neglect their ministry, and thus (3) they are ruinous to the welfare of the realm, p. 419. The only remedy against this unhealthy state, is to return to the simple Sect of Christ, p. 419.*

Chap. II. *Likewise the clergy is in sin against the Son, the eternal wisdom; for their life is not according to the law of Christ, p. 420, and through their wealth and luxury they take away from the poor people, the basis of the realm, what is necessary to them,*

p. 421. From suchlike oppression the ruin of the land is not . off. Remedy against this, p. 422.

Chap. III. *If they thus continue to oppress the poor, they . also against the Holy Spirit, because they offend against His very ʻ ture, against goodness and charity, p. 423—423. For all the spirit gifts which are handed to the people by the hands of the clergy, indulgences and suchlike, are generally accessible only to rich men, l cause they can be acquired only by money, p. 424. Thus the po must live without the divine gifts of grace, p. 424. And this sin to be considered a heavy one; the more so, as the prelates do wl is in their might to prevent faithful priests from the preaching the simple Gospel of God, p. 425.*

III. Date of Composition.

To judge from the whole tone of the Tract, it must have be written shortly after the death of the Black Prince, who died on t Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 8, 1377, cp. Chron. Angl. ed. ˌ Thompson, 88. The style also, I believe, suits this date well; the de berate tranquillity of the Author's later times seems to be wanting in it. - I would defend this date more keenly, unless in the last chapter t opposition between the rich clergy, who try to hinder the free preachi of the Gospel by the itinerant preachers (sacerdos fidelis, volens grat predicare ewangelium Iesu Cristi erit statim prohibitus predica *cp. p. 424) were so sharply marked; for according to all particula hitherto known of the institute of W.'s itinerary preachers, an earli date than the year 1382 would not suit this antagonism. The dc must, therefore, remain uncertain.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Vienna Wiclif-Catal., cp. above p. 7.

(2) cod. E, index on the front cover; see above General I trod. IV, Description of the codices.

(3) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1438; 1460; 1470.

(4) Shirley, Catal. No. 73 p. 25.

(5) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.

(b) *Internal evidence:*

(1) *The style of the Tract in a certain degree differs from that of W.'s later writings. But on the whole, I don't think there is sufficient reason to doubt its genuineness on this account, the more so as the language, phraseology, mode of argumentation is undoubtedly of the Wiclif stamp. In particular, the whole tone of the Tract suits well Wiclif's political views, and the references to England are frequent; the Four Sects also are mentioned in their traditional order, cp. p. 421:* triplicitatem sectarum, ut monachos, canonicos et fratres, qui indubie sunt ad onus pauperum regni nostri; *as fourth Sect, the* clerus cesareus, *whom the Tract attacks, is presupposed.*

(2) *cp. also the phrase commencing the Tract which is peculiar to Wiclif, cap. I. note a.*

(3) *vgl. cap. II, note a; b; III, b; c.*

V. *Not printed heretofore.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 4527 = *C fol.* 169^b—171^a C^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)*

cod. 1337 = *E fol.* 37^a—39^c $\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Glosser} \\ E^2 = \text{Corrector} \end{cases}$

cod. 3927 = *F fol.* 9^c—10^d *no Corrector*

these in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. XI. E. 3. = *γ fol.* 11^b—12^a γ^1 = *Corrector (texthand)*

the latter in the Univ.-Libr. at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.[1]

A. **Their relationship.** *(1) Class E—F. That these are related to one another, is evident (1) from their consensus compared with the two others; in about 120 various readings both agree 50 times. The value of this agreement will be raised by the fact that here also, as in former cases, E, as well as F, have been copied from their original very carelessly. (2) cp. the following 15 readings, where both codd. agree against the consensus of the two others:* quidquid *II, 15;* predictam

[1] *As the Tract is very short, I can give only a few hints on the MSS.*

II, 27; fund. *III, 38;* extr. q. intr. *III, 29;* inuatur *II, 38; es cially* vindicta dei *I, 53;* ad fil. *(om.) I, 14;* debet *I, 20;* et *I, 46;* tempore congruo tempore *II, 2;* oportet *(om.) II, 35;* in l *III, 10;* rac. elem. *III, 20;* medicion. *III, 37;* carc. *III, 43;* s *III, 32;* tr. tripl. *III, 14. (3) cp. their lacuna:* regule domini *III, 20, common to both.*

But it can be proved that E and F have not been copied one fr the other, cp. armet regn. — general. *III, 21—23 and* relevac. *II, I believe, they had an old common original, which might reach b behind their second or third degree (cp.* facit incl. *II, 43). In t case E, which first had been copied badly, was corrected by* E^2, *w had neither C, nor γ (*ad contr. recip. *III, 16) as his original. F h not been copied from this corrected E (*armet *III, 21;* ad *II, 1* ad contr. *III, 16;* recip. *III, 10*).

(2) Whether C and γ are of the same kin, I do not venture contend. The reading facit inclin. *II, 43 seems to be in favour this supposition.*[1]

B. **The best Codex.** *From the preceding it is clear that best MS. does not belong to Class E—F. E especially is in a state great corruption; in the 85 decisive passages, E reads 50 times, F times, γ 19 times, C 13 times wrong. In deciding, whether C γ be the better, I have found the readings* deven. *III, 40 and* qu min. *II, 37; 38 in favour of C.*[2] *I take, therefore, C as the ba of my text.*

[1] *With reference to these few hints on the mutual relation of the codices, the classification of the MSS. in De Fundacione Sectarum, above p. 8 ff.*

[2] *although Turnow in the present Tract copied in some cases not closely fr the original, but according to the sense,* favore *II, 12;* soluti *II, 21.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DEMONIO MERIDIANO.[1]

Verbum communiter dicendum clero dominis et populo regni nostri.[2]

CAP. I.

‖[3] Frons | meretricis facta est populo[a] ex scelere[4] antiquato, ‖ *C fol. 169b lin. 1* nec fuit in regno nostro | dignitas, ut dominus princeps Edwardus, qui trinitati[5] fuit | orthodoxe affectus,[b] fidem trinitatis in regno nostro defenderet. Abhorret quidem predicta[6] triplicitas nomen[7] vecordie, falsitatis[8] et furis[9] in ficta[10] causa dyaboli, sed triplex predictum

CAP. I. [a] *A phrase often made use of by W., cp. for instance* Dialog.*, cap. 3, cod. 1338 (Vienna Libr.) fol. 56d: frons quidem meretricis facta est illi, et ideo est signum evidens, quod sit dyabolus induratus nec valet excusacio anticristi, quod non sunt heretici nisi probatum fuerit iudicialiter etc. As to the phrase, cp. Jer. 3, 3* [b] *in the Chronicon Angliae, ed. M. Thompson, 88 his last prayer is preserved: nam valedicturus saeculo tamquam non moriturus obiit;*

CAP. I. [1] *Titel EFγ om. C* [2] verbum *etc. C* de gradibus cleri ecclesie, sequ. De demonio meridiano *F* de demonio mer. *E, in the lower margin is add. with a mark of ref.:* Alias sic intitulatur verbum communiter dicendum clero dominis et populo regni nostri *E*[1] *without Expl. and Inc. γ* [3] *E fol. 37d lin. 37 F fol. 9c lin. 45 γ fol. 11b lin. 28* [4] scelere *CFγ* celere *E* [5] trinitati *CFγ* triniti *E* [6] predicta *Cγ, E, here corr. into the text E*[2] *om. F* [7] nomen *C* nomine *EFγ* [8] fals. *CEF* et fals. *γ* [9] furis *CF, γ in mar.* suris *E* [10] et furis in ficta *CEF om. γ but add. in mar. by the texthand*

verbum[11] in causa dei ad perpetuum eius dispendium non :
midat.

Debemus autem primo credere, quod deus est sic omnipot
quod impossibile sit,[12] creaturam aliquam in ipsum delinquere,
dampnum illius delicti in personam deo subditam sit retortum.

Credimus secundo[13] correspondenter ad filium,[14] quod nullu
regimen[16] sub[17] persona potest regi sapienter secundum numer
qui correspondeat verbo dei, nisi secundum legem eiusdem verb
fuerit principaliter regulatum.

Et credimus tercio correspondenter ad spiritum sanctum, qu
in ista triplici perfidia sit clerus[19] et temporales domini speciali
accusati, nisi dent[20] caritativam operam ad hanc fidem trinita
fideliter[21] exequendam.[22]

Hanc autem fidem[23] predictus dominus Edwardus mortuus,
peccatum non obsteterit,[24] creditur ad utilitatem regni fideli
perfecisse.

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sed velut de peregrinatione ad patriam, velut de morte ad vit velut de servitute transiturus esset ad gloriam, ut mori posset sanc simam Trinitatem suppliciter exoravit, ,Trinitas', inquiens, ,benedi cuius nomen semper in terris colui, cuius honorem ampliare studui, cuius fide, quamquam alias sceleratus et peccator fui, semper d Te deprecor, ut, sicut ego Tuum istud festum magnificavi in ter populum etiam ob honorem Tuum vocavi, ut idem festum mecum la ageret, Tu me liberes de corpore mortis huius, et vocare digneris festum illud dulcissimum, quod Tecum in coelis agitur in hac die' died just on Holy Trinity-Sunday in 1376). Cuius preces, ut cr mus, a Domino sunt exauditae; namque eodem die, circa horam tiam ex hoc mundo transivit. In the Chronicon he is called not c ,princeps Walliae, dux Cornubiae et comes Cestriae', but also ,Cu trinitatis', cp. Thompson, Chr. Angl. ibidem

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[11] verbum *EFγ* nomen *C, above it* verbum *C*¹ [12] sit *Eγ* est *C, abov* sit *C*¹ est *F* [13] 2º *CFγ om. E* [14] ad filium *Cγ om. EF* [15] nullum *C* ullum *E* [16] regimen *EF* regnum *γ* verbum *(ud.) C, above it* regimen [17] sub *Eγ* super *F* sine *C* [18] verbi *CFγ* videtur *E* [19] sit cl. *CEF* s clerici *γ* [20] dent *Cγ,F (texthand) in mar.* debet *E,F (ud.)* [21] fideliter *C.* specialiter *γ* [22] exequendam *CFγ,E corr. from* consequendam [23] fidem *C* fidem fidem *E* [24] obsteterit *CF* obstet *γ* obstetit *E*

Sumus autem in prima infidelitate de[25] patris omnipotencia[26] adeo excecati, quod credimus secundum fantasiam nostram activam[27] contra legem domini prevalere. Et sic licet legem domini contempnimus, de clero tam intrinseco quam extrinseco credimus, in eius multitudine, licet prevaricetur contra[28] legem domini, prosperari. Ad tantum enim mundana prosperitas et nominis[29] temporalis cupiditas regnum Anglie excecavit.

Sed sciant fideles regni, qui modo in turpi perfidia contra deum recalcitrant, quod nisi ditacio cleri sui fuerit secundum legem domini regulata, clerus peccabit in[30] monstruoso numero, in fideli officio et in fructuoso ministerio,[31] quod[32] rependeret regno nostro. Mensura autem, quam deus libraret inter[33] clerum et duas partes alias[c] regni nostri, necessario deficit ex dominio superfluo,[34] clero infundabiliter[35] cumulato.[36] Et cum clerus dislocatur sic contra legem domini in dominio monstruoso, necesse est, quod deficiat in clericali officio. Et quantum ad fructum ex clero postmodum germinantem, necesse est, quod sit pompa luciferina toti regno Anglie onerosa.

Medium autem sanandi hunc morbum in clericis foret ad statum, quem Cristus instituit, ipsos reducere. Ad quod laborarunt[37] pauperes presbyteri clamando usque ad mortis periculum non secundum dogma zophisticum vel secundum Iesselini[38][d] testimonium, sed quomodo hec[39] dicit dominus tam crebro in duplici testamento?

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[c] *i. e. domini and populus* [d] *Zenzelinus (Genzelinus) de Cassanis, a well-known doctor of laws, of french extraction (according to Pancirolo, De Cleris Leg. Interpp.), wrote a commentary on the ‚Extravagantes' of Pope John XXII. W. mentions him also Arnold, S. E. W. III, 248*

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[25] de *C* ad *EFγ* [26] omnipotencia *CF* omnipotenciam *Eγ* [27] activam *C* ecclesiam *EFγ* [28] contra *Cγ* *om. EF* [29] nominis *CF,E (ud.)* *om. γ* [30] peccabit in *CF* peccabit et in *γ* peccavit et in *E* [31] ministerio *CFγ* officio *(ud.)* ministerio *E* [32] quod *γ* quid *CEF* [33] inter *CEF* in clero modo *(cr. out)* inter *γ* [34] superfluo *CFγ,E²* *in mar.* *om. E* [35] infundabiliter *CFγ* infundanter *E* [36] cumulato *CFγ* cumlerato *(?) E* [37] laborarunt *CEγ* laborarent *F* [38] Iesselini *C* yessilini *E* iessilini *F* yesslini *γ* [39] hec *C* hoc *EFγ*

Et cum ista legis dei execucio nedum[40] infideliter pro causa temporali,[41] quam magis ponderant, est sopita, sed propter tur lucrum in tocius regni dispendium est causa legis[43] dyaboli co firmata. Et cum[44] certum est ex fide, nisi deus magnanimitate sue materie differat huius penam, et regnum nostrum erit[46] sul | C fol. 170a versum,[47] et crimen omissionis contra dei omnipotenciam | erit pe petuo[48] condempnatum. Ab isto ergo peccato et peccatis aliis[49] ipsum inducentibus regnicole caverent solercius, et radicem vel[50] causam huius peccati[51] eradicarent prudencius, cum debemus cre dere fructuose, quod deus sit omnipotens ad sui[52] regis inobedien ciam vindicandum.[53]

CAP. II.

Nec solum regnat hec infidelitas contra potenciam[1] dei patris, sed contra sapienciam verbi dei. Verbum autem dei eternaliter genitum eternaliter condidit unam legem, et tempore congruo legis[2] veteris ipsam congrue promulgavit, et in eius confirmacionem se ipsum in plenitudine temporis incarnavit, et tam facto quam verbo docuit, quomodo voluit clerum suum secundum legem, quam prius edidit, regulari. Quomodo ergo staret regni tranquillitas, quod tam manifeste obviat legi Cristi? Ex fide quidem accipimus,[3] quod deus omnia fecit in mensura, numero et pondere.[a] Sed hec trinitas notabiliter exhorbitat in clero[4] Anglie. Nam possessionis e cupiditatis eorum non est numerus. Ideo cum ab isto binario s

CAP. II. [a] *Cp. the same idea (see Wisd. 11, 22) in the Tri* 390. *With ref. to the whole passage, cp. Lechler I,* 496

[40] nedum *CEF* nedicta *(cr. out)* nedum *γ* [41] causa *CF,γ with brack following* it causam (m *ud.) E* [42] temporali *CFγ* reali *E* [43] legis *CE* *om.γ* [44] cum *CFγ,E² in mar. om. E* [45] magnanimitate *CFγ* magnitudine [46] erit *Cγ* et sic *EF* [47] subv. *CFγ* perversum *(ud.)* subv. *E* [48] perpet *CEF* perpetue *γ* [49] aliis *CEF* aut hiis *γ* [50] vel *CEF* sive *γ* [51] pec *CFγ* peccato *(ud.)* pecc. *E* [52] sui *EFγ* sue *C* [53] vindicandum *Cγ* vin candi *F* vindicta dei *E*

CAP. II. [1] potenciam *CEF* omnipotenciam *γ* [2] legis *Cγ* tempore legis *E* [3] accipimus *CFγ* accepimus *E* [4] clero *CFγ,E² in mar. om. E*

tantum deficit,[5] necesse est, quod in pondere librandi[6] deum et creaturas suas omnimodas deficiat. Et hinc communitas regni nostri tam penaliter est oppressa, cum clerus antiquus intrinsecus oblaciones et decimas exhaurit per[7] excommunicaciones,[8] incarceraciones[9] et media alia dyaboli noviter machinata, sed predicaciones ewangelii et[10] alia ministeria[11] rependenda pro timore[12] dyaboli pretermittit, quia prelati istum defectum non corrigunt, cum qualis pater, talis filius, et ad continuandum istam omissionem a mundi principibus largiter sunt dotati. Nec quiescit dyabolus in isto peccato primevo plebeos anxie tribulando, sed induxit triplicitatem sectarum ultra ordinacionem domini populum onerando, ut monachos, canonicos et fratres, qui indubie sunt ad onus[13] pauperum regni nostri.[b] Potentes enim, ut principes et seculares domini, ab ipsis requirunt redditus et servicia, sicut[14] primo, et quid[15] propter ypocrisim et quid[16] propter occulta munera, in alleviacionem plebis a clero tales[17] redditus non requirunt et ad[18] ostendendum inanem magnificenciam regni et secularium dominorum canes extrinseci romane[19] curie[20] ad spoliandum pauperes regni Anglie sunt solliciti,[21] cum cardinales non solum prebendarii vel[22] rectores, sed archidiaconi regni Anglie per regem et suum consilium confirmantur,[23] et cum wlgus in supportacione[24] talium onerum[25] solum sit finite[26] potencie, necesse est per triplicitatem predictam[27] intrinsecam et per triplicitatem extrinsecam ipsum de-

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[b] *an idea often repeated by W., see for instance Arnold, S. E. W. I, 202; II, 269; III, 512 Matthew, E. W. h. u. 8; 181; 321*

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[5] deficit *CF* defecit *Eγ* [6] librandi *EFγ,C¹ in mar.* *om. C* [7] per *CFγ, E² in mar.* post *(cr. out and ud.) E* [8] excommunicaciones *C* excommunicacionem *CFγ* [9] incarceraciones *C* incarceracionem *EFγ* [10] et *CEF* *om. γ* [11] ministeria *CEγ* misteria *F* [12] timore *EFγ* favore *C, above it* timore *C¹* [13] onus *CEF* ono *γ* [14] sicut *CEγ* sic *F* [15] quid *Cγ* quidquid *EF* [16] et quid *C* quid *Fγ* quidquid *E* [17] tales *CFγ* cleris *(!) E* [18] ad *Cγ,E² corr. into the text* *om. EF* [19] romane *Fγ* racione *C (! romane) E* [20] curie *CFγ* civere *E* [21] solliciti *EFγ,C¹ in mar.* soluti *C* [22] vel *EFγ* nichil *(! not clearly written, perhaps for* vel) *C* [23] confirmantur *CE* confirmentur *γ* confirmatur *F* [24] supportacione *CFγ,E² in mar.* subertacione *(!) E* [25] onerum *CF* ordinum *(ud.)* onerum *E* ordinum *γ* [26] finite *CFγ* finire *E* [27] predictam *Cγ* *om. EF*

ficere. Et cum wlgus sit basis fulcimenti regnorum,[28] necess regnum Anglie pro defectu suorum wlgarium in clero et do terrenis deficere.

Cristus autem deus eternaliter pro relevamine[29] suorum rium degit vitam pauperem, et non ipsos in rapina temporali onustavit, sed tam[31] in iuvamine[32] bonorum talium,[33] quam tualium multipliciter relevavit.[34] Et cum oportet,[35] Cristum r esse in iudicio finali nobis iudicem, necesse est, quod tunc ante peccatum istud severius puniatur, et inter alias penas, q
|| O fol. 170b peccatum istud minatur,[38] manifeste || indicat dissolucionem r rum,[39] cum eorum fundacio stet potissime in prudenti[40] defen pauperum plebeorum. Idem enim esset ruinam fundamenti[41] pauperis procurare et ruinam regni ex defectu fundamenti s machinari.[42] Nec caret istud peccatum calumpnia quoad d cum inter peccata ad deum clamancia iniusta oppressio paup inclinat[43] aures domini magis continue ad suam iniuriam candum.[44]

Et sic peccatum comissum contra sapienciam verbi dei m infideles constituit, qui minantur runiam[45] celerem regni nostr

CAP. III.

Cum autem spiritui sancto appropriatur clemencia, patet, continuacionis huius sceleris infidelis impietas est in causa.

Si enim clerus predictus[a] ex integro de conversacione[1] e domini recoleret et domini mundani cognoscerent, quomodo

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CAP. III. [a] *i. e. the rich clergy*

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[28] regn. *CEF* et regn. *γ* [29] relevamine *Cγ* relevacione *F* revelan [30] temporalium *CFγ* talium *E* [31] tam *CFγ,E²* *in mar.* tamen *(cr.* [32] iuvamine *CFγ, in E the text reads clearly* iuvaimen [33] talium *CE* te lium *Fγ* [34] relevavit *CFγ* relevant *E* [35] oportet *Cγ,E²* *in mar.* *om. EF* *CFγ* nichil *E (?)* [37] quas *C* suas *EEγ* [38] minatur *C* inuatur *EF* tur *γ* [39] regnorum *CEγ* regum *F* [40] prudenti *CEF,γ* *in mar. by th hand om. γ* [41] fundamenti *CEγ* fundati *F* [42] machinari *CEF* mach [43] inclinat *CF* facit inclinari *γ* facit inclinare *E* [44] vindicandum *CEγ* candi *F* [45] ruinam *CFγ* ruina *E*

CAP. III. [1] de conversacione *CEγ* ad conversacionem *F*

peres wlgares in ipsis et suis puerulis parum de bonis mundanis, quod foret insensibile in[2] mundi divitibus, ultra quod tolerare possunt, deprimeret, et secundo,[3] quomodo alludente[4] mundo in aura et pace et aliis casibus prosperantibus seculare brachium, quantum wlgus tolerare posset, exigeret, homo, qui est[5] ex deo, oppressionem[6] wlgarium[7] non adiuvaret. Et certum videtur ex fide,[8] quod continuacio istius facinoris, quousque versum[9] fuerit in peccatum in spiritum sanctum, dicit finalem destruccionem regni, cum illud[10] peccatum non recipit[11] remissionem in[12] hoc seculo nec futuro.[13]

Et hec triplex[14] fides trinitatem consequens debet eo servari[15] attencius, quo defendi potest facilius quantum ad racionem,[16] contra adversarios cunctos evidencius, et quoad deum et hominem secundum personam et regnum prosperius. Illud autem regnum foret nimis impotens, quod invaderet[17] spoliando calliditas[18] anticristi, nec aliud petitur, nisi quod regnum non prebeat sua bona, sed[19] pure secundum racionem regule domini Iesu Cristi, et omnino, quod quidquid regnum tribuit secundum racionem elemosine,[20] tribuat pure secundum racionem, qua resonat caritatem.

Armet[21] autem[22] regnum nostrum se generaliter[23] ista fide, quod ficte censure pro sequendo fidem Cristi prudenter redundant[24] in adversarios fulminantes. Et si quis venit ad regnum et non affert[25] hanc[26] Cristi doctrinam, nullus[27] regnicola dixerit sibi[28] ave.

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[2] in *CFγ*, E^2 *in mar.* et *(cr. out and ud.)* *E* [3] secundo *EFγ* 3° *C* [4] alludente *CFγ* allundente *E* [5] est *C* *om. EFγ* [6] oppressionem *C* oppressioni *EFγ* [7] wlgarium *C* wlgari *EFγ* [8] ex fide *CFγ* *om. E* [9] versum *CEγ* verbum *F* [10] illud *Cγ* in hoc illud *F* in hoc *(cr. out)* illud *E, but in mar.* recipit E^2 [11] recipit *CF,γ a corr. word* realiter *E* [12] in *CEF* nec in *γ* [13] futuro *CE* in fut. *Fγ* [14] triplex *Cγ* r *(cr. out and ud.)* triplex *E* tr *(cr. out and ud.)* triplex *F* [15] servari *CFγ* servare *E* [16] quantum ad racionem *C* ad racionem *γ* ad romam *F* ad con *(the latter cr. out and ud.)* *E, but* E^2 *in mar.* ad contrarium [17] invaderet *EFγ* invadet *C* [18] calliditas *CFγ* callitas *E, but* E^2 *in mar.* di [19] sed *C* stulte sed *EFγ* [20] pure secund. racionem regule domini I. Cr. — racion. elemosine *Cγ* pure secundum racionem elemosine *F,E, but with mark of ref. in the lower mar.:* regule dom. I. Cr. — sec. racionem E^1 [21] armet *Cγ* ornet *F* quid *(cr. out)* *E, but* E^2 *in mar.* armet [22] autem *C* *om. EFγ* [23] generaliter *CFγ* generatur *E* [24] redundant *EFγ* redundat *C* [25] affert *γ* aufert *CE* auffert *(u ud.)* *F* [26] hanc *C* istam *EFγ* [27] nullus *CFγ* nisi *(?)* *E* [28] sibi *CFγ* sibi *(the abbreviation* s' *is cr. out)* *E, but supplied by* E^2 *in mar.*

Et cum spiritui sancto appropriatur benignitas, regnum nostru servaret tam intrinsecus quam extrinsecus[29] caritatem et omnin pacem cum exteris, cum redditibus, qui iam sunt in manu mortu loca eius confinia roborando, nec seducatur regnum per fictam po tenciam vel signa impossibilia anticristi. Nam[30] fides doceret ho mines, quod nullus prelatus habet potestatem nisi ad edificacionem ecclesie, sed[31] non est potestas edificatoria, nisi fuerit pure liber et a deo. Si[32] enim homo posset emere indulgencias et privilegi spiritualia, quibus quis celum[33] acquireret, tunc tota spes foret[34] mundi divitibus et desperacio pauperibus beatitudinem acquirendi.[35] Est igitur[36] medicinale[37] principium, non credere omni spiritui in hac parte, sed dumtaxat, de quanto racione se fundaverit[38] ve scriptura[b]. Et iuxta hoc principium nemo crederet pape vel pre
|| C fol. 171a lato alteri in || privilegiis vel aliis spiritualibus suffragiis, vel i excommunicacionibus vel censuris aliis, nisi de quanto sonant i iudicium Iesu Cristi.

Horreat igitur[39] regnum Anglie, quod deveniant[40] heretic proditorie et maligne generalis procurator dyaboli, cum nimis s quod contra legem domini cum suis temporalibus[41] dotaverit an cristum. Est insuper maius facinus, quod in morte prelati regnum novo consenciat[42] priori facinori et confirmet, et omnino pessimu est, quod fideles in domino prohibeantur per incarceraciones,[43] priv ciones et censuras alias dicere palam populo legem Cristi. Na pseudofrater predicans heresim manifestam erit licenciatus ab ep scopo et defensatus a seculari brachio, sed sacerdos fidelis voler

[b] *with ref. to this idea often repreated by W., cp. above p. 25 also above De Christo et s. adv. antichr. cap. VII, conclusion*

[29] intr. q. extr. *Cγ* extr. q. intr. *EF* [30] nam *CF* unde *Eγ* [31] sed *E om. C* [32] si *Cγ* sed *EF* [33] celum *C* totum *EFγ* [34] foret *CEγ om. but supplied in mar. by the texthand* [35] acquirendi *C* acquirendum *E* adquerendum *γ* [36] igitur *C* ergo *EFγ* [37] medicinale *Cγ* medicionale medicionale *E, but the* o *is cr. out and ud.* [38] fundaverit *Cγ* fundavit *E* [39] igitur *C* ergo *EFγ* [40] deveniant *C* derivat (? divinat) *γ* eveniat *F* *(cr. out and ud.)* divinant (? derivant) *E* [41] cum s. temp. *C om. EFγ* [42] con senciat *C* consenciant *EFγ* [43] incarceraciones *Cγ* carceraciones *F,E, but* in *add. by* E^2 *in mar.*

gratis predicare ewangelium Iesu Cristi erit statim prohibitus predicare in ista dyocesi. Et sic[44] fructus dotacionis uberis prelatorum redundat regno[45] nostro dyabolo in conquestum, cum prelati nec predicant fidem populo, nec permittunt, quod[46] hec fides libere predicetur.

Et sic peccatum commissum contra clemenciam persone tercie impedit caritatem in Anglia germinare.

Lipextic vrebū com̄t' didūcē orcle
te sm̄d et lppo gnire n̄ri.[47]

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[44] sic *CEF* *om.* γ [45] regno *CF*γ rego *E* [46] quod *CF*γ,*E*² *in mar.* sed *(er. out and ud.) E* [47] *i. e.* Explicit verbum communiter dicendum clero et dominis et populo regni nostri, *cp. also the title of the Tract* de concordacione fratrum cum secta simplici Cristi *E* Epistola missa episcopo Cantuarensi *E* *without Expl.* γ, *the last part of the folium 12ª is not written upon.*

XVI.

DE DUOBUS GENERIBUS HAERETICORUM.

DE DUOBUS GENERIBUS HAERETICORUM.

I. Contents.

Two classes of heretics must be driven out of England, viz. the S i m o n i s t s *(popes, bishops and curates), and the* A p o s t a t e s *(all the priesthood, especially the prelates) who have lost almost all true faith, and who refuse to follow the lowly example of Christ. — Now as all heretics are to be regarded as lepers, who, according to the Gospel, are to dwell apart, they must be driven out, and whith them their abettors, the clergy, the Mendicant Friars and temporal lords who support them. They can, indeed, only be expelled by a miracle, for the whole world is full of them.*

II. Date of Composition.

There is no certain date for fixing the time at which this Tract was written. With Arnold, S. E. W. III, 211, to whose arguments I refer, I am of opinion that it is an early compilation, composed before 1380. Indeed, the grouping together of the clerus, *the* fratres *and the* domini temporales, *which never recurs in subsequent writings, and which in fact would have been impossible for W. at a later period, is in favour to this view.*

III. Genuineness.

This also can scarcely be doubted. The style is troughout W.'s, and the position of the treatise amongst his genuine writings (compare

the old index on the cover of cod. E) is in favour of this. *S*[?] *further:*

(1) *the Vienna Wiclif Catalogues, cp. above p. 7*
(2) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1443*
(3) *Shirley, Catal. p. 30 No. 96.*
(4) *Lechler, J. v. W. II. 568.*

The fragment is probably an extract from one of W.'s sermons; the whole tone indicates this (tota communitas *etc. p. 432;* Sed heu! ad tantum *etc. p. 432;* Amen *at the end); it is, perhaps, a part of the* Opus Ewangel. (De Sermone Domini in monte) *IV. part,* De Anticristo, *and seems to be taken from the 14*[th] *chapter (Cod. Trin. Coll. Cambr. B. 16. 2. fol. 353—432 and C. 123. fol. 3—332). Shirley, Catal. 58 and 65 gives the Incipit and the Explicit (he reads the latter incorrectly):* Duo sunt genera hereticorum . . . . *Expl.* observanciam *(p. 65:* observancia) faciendo. *Compare also Arnold, S. E. W. III, 211, 216. The fragment is so far not without importance, as on the one hand it treats, and that with some asperity, of the universal corruption of the priesthood (not the Mendicant Friars) and on the other, the whole tone expresses sorrowful resignation at the corruption of the Church. At the beginning the pamphlet coincides with the original English Tract; after the* duo genera *have been briefly described the two fragments differ, as is often the case with W., in the tenor of their arguments and the tone of their polemics, cp., for instance,* De Officio Pastorali *published by Lechler, Leipsic 1863, and Mathew, E. W. h. u. p. 405 ff.*

IV. *Still unpublished.*

V. *Existing only in cod. 1337 = E fol. 181*[c]*—181*[d]*.*

VI. *The fragment is in the codex without corrections or marginal notes. The handwriting differs somewhat from that of the pamphlets preceding it in the Manuscript. The Tract which follows:* De Trinitate *begins in a new hand.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DUOBUS GENERIBUS HERETICORUM.

De duobus generibus hereticorum.

‖Duo sunt genera hereticorum, ¦ de quibus foret Anglia ex | purganda. Primi sunt symoniaci, | qui sunt omnes pape, episcopi, curati vel prebendarii, qui occupant symoniace patrimonium crucifixi. Secundi sunt apostatici, qui sunt omnes clerici, sed prelati precipue, qui discredunt medie parti fidei catholice, qua cristianus credit, quod Cristus viavit in terris secundum vitam summe pauperem[a] et penalem. In illa autem vita si sit[1] fidelitas, debent quicunque episcopi propinquius sequi Cristum. Cum autem omnes heretici sunt leprosi, qui debent secundum ewangelium Luc. 14[b] stare a longe et vivere extra castra, ‖ quia nephandum foret, reges et seculares dominos habere tales leprosos consiliarios vel eis in tali duplicitate consentire[2], non dubium, quin contingit[3] regnum per tales leprosos consiliarios contaminari generaliter et perturbacione secundum deum et hominem irremediabiliter irretiri. Et idem est iudicium de consensu cleri, sive fuerint episcopi sive presbyteri sive

‖ *E fol. 181c lin. 29*

‖ *E fol. 181d*

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[a] *This is the view of the Franciscans of the stricter observance, cp. Milman, Lat. Christianity VII, cap. 6* [b] *v. 21 ff.*

---

[1] si as. sit *(sic) cod.* [2] *between* duplicitate *and* consentire *the scribe has left a blank space; I believe, he could not read* duplicitate *in his original and left, a space too large for the word which had to be added afterwards* [3] contingit *or* convenit, *the abbreviation is not clear*

fratres. Omnes enim illi, qui tacent propter lucrum seculi vel salvacionem corporis temporalem, sunt domini proditores.

Et idem est iudicium de dominis temporalibus, qui debent sub pena prodicionis perpetue hereticos predictos destruere et servire in fide domino nostro Iesu Cristo. Nam secundum decreta sanctorum[c] non caret scripulo societatis occulte, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare. —

Has autem hereses tenentur omnes fideles niti destruere; primo clerici, sed precipue prelati ac fratres, cum aliter forent fugiendi heretici ex consensu; secundo mundi principes cum suo consilio et Cristi milicia saltem fomentum huius criminis subtrahendo et proditores domini non fovendo; et tercio, cum huius destruccio non perficeretur[4] sine grandi dei miraculo, tota communitas tenetur rogare, ut deus adiuvet in hac parte. Sed heu! ad tantum invaluit pars principis huius mundi, quod vix reperietur hodie civitas, villa vel viatoris colleccio, quin tenentes eius in potencia et in certitudine prevalerent[5] contra Cristum. Sed sciat pars anticristi, quod finaliter oportet, ut deo observiat paciendo, Amen.

Incipit tractatus de trinitate.

[c] *cp. Atto Episc. Vercell. (in Du Cange) Ep. 10 apud eund. Acher. tom. 8. spicil. p. 131: Negligere enim, qui potest deturbare perversos, nihil aliud est, quam fovere. Nec caret screpulo etc. Cp. also Corp. iur. can. (ed. Richter-Friedberg, Leipzig 1880) Decr. II P. II. Qu. c. 55: negligere, perversos cum possis perturbare, nichil est aliud quam fovere. Nec caret scrupulo etc. wie oben.*

[4] pficeretur *cod., the stroke through the lower part of the* p *is omitted* [5] prevaleret *cod.*

XVII.

DE RELIGIONIBUS VANIS MONACHORUM.

DE RELIGIONIBUS VANIS MONACHORUM.

I. Contents.

The division of the Church into Sects destroys the unity sought after by Christ, p. 437. If Peter and Paul (according to I Cor. I and III) were forbidden to form Sects, so much the more were Augustin, Benedict, Dominicus and Francis, p. 438. Christ, the rock of justice, is the only fondation of the Church, and with Him no saint can be compared, p. 439. For this reason, the adherents of monastic orders, their supporters and patrons, must be considered in the light of promoters of schism, p. 440.

II. Date of Composition.

Uncertain: the Tract contains no evidence whatever, and was probably composed towards the end of the Author's struggle against the Hierarchy.

III. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) *see the Explicit of cod. Olm. I, V, 34.*

(2) *see D, Index on the cover (only to be accepted conditionally).*

3) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1444; 1455; 1493; 1501.*

4) *Shirley, Catal. Nro. 80 p. 27.*

5) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 567.*

Internal evidence:

(1) *see the General Introduction above V, e.*

(2) *the comparison between Christ and the heads of monastic orders, and the names of the three Sects* : nachi, canonici, fratres *point conclusively to Wicl authorship. — It is, very probably, a short fragm from some larger work.*

IV. *Still unprinted.*

V. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. $207^d - 208^b$ no Corrector,
cod. 4527 = C fol. $145^a - 145^b$ „ „
cod. 3930 = D fol. $166^a - 166^c$ „ „
cod. 4515 = H fol. $83^b - 84^b$ „ „
cod. 1338 = J fol. $29^c - 30^a$ { J^1 = Corrector, J^2 = Corrector }

in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. I. V. 34 = Ol, 25th Tract (the pages of the cod. not numbered)

in the Imperial Studienbibliothek at Olmütz.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE RELIGIONIBUS VANIS MONACHORUM

SIVE

DE FUNDATORE RELIGIONIS.[1]

Tractatus de fundatore religionis.[2]

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[3]Saluator nofter diligens vnitatem reli|gionis,|[4] et plantaciones pharifeicas odiens dicit in fuo ewangelio, quod eft[5] fufficiens regula| fue religionis, Mt. 15° [6a]. Omnis plantacio quam non plantauit pater meus celeftis eradicabitur, Talis autem plantacio eft quelibet[7] religio, aut[8] fecta humanitus inventa,[8] que fonat[10] in diuifionem criftiane religionis, et hec diuifio contingit vbicunque aliquis citra *A fol. 207d lin. 25*

[a] *v. 13*

[1] *In order to give the reader an idea as to the quality of the Vienna copies, the following text has been closely copied from the codex A, with the punctuation, rthography and various errors of this codex. All abbreviations have been solved nd written out in full, I having closely followed the usage of the MS. in its ortho-raphy; cp. for instance words as* cristus *instead of Christus. The fragment is copied the same hand that wrote the whole codex and is corrected throughout with red k. I have observed that all the commas which were originally in black ink, have en gone over with red (with the exception of the comma after* Augustinus *p. 439 l. 7;* cit *439 l. 15); all the capital letters (with the exception of* Mt. *above l. 3;* Unuf-tisque *438 l. 9;* Apollo *438 l. 16;* Jesus *439 l. 4;* Non *439 l. 7;* Augustinus *439 14;* Roman. *440 l. 9;* Non *440 l. 9) and the* b *occuring twice in* beatus *before* ugust. *are in red ink. My other observations are given in the notes* [2] *this le in red ink   no title in CH* De Religionibus vanis monachorum *D* Explicit *(before the present Tract comes De Diabolo et Membris eius)* De fundacione

criſtum honoratur et acceptatur, tamquam patronus[11] princi
alicuius ſecte ordinis aut religionis, Et ſi[12] illicitum eſt acce
petrum, aut paulum, aut alium apoſtolum, in fundatorem criſ
religionis, a multo forciori illicitum est Augustinum, aut Fra
cum, ſiue[13] dominicum acceptare pro patrono principali, cun
eis non fiat expreſſa mencio in lege criſti, Ideo[14] paulus apoſ
videns corinthios cecitate ſciſmatis percuſſos, reprobat ipſos[15]
|| A fol. 208a cens,[b] Vnuſquiſque veſtrum[16] dicit || Ego quidem[17] ſum pauli,
autem apollo Ego vero cephe, Ego autem criſti, diuiſus eſt
criſtus, Numquid paulus pro vobis crucifixus eſt, aut in no
pauli baptizati eſtis, q. d. non,[18] Igitur neque petrus neque pa
nec aliquis alius citra criſtum est dignus, ut ſit patronus pr
palis alicuius religionis, quoniam[19] idem apostolus[20] humiliter
fitetur[21] ſubſequenter[22] dicens,[c] Ego plantaui ſcilicet per pre
cionem, Apollo rigauit, ſcilicet per conſilium aut baptizacionem,
deus incrementum dedit, ſcilicet per graciam fidem et religi
fundacionem, Itaque neque[23] qui plantat[24] eſt aliquid, neque
rigat eſt aliquid, ſcilicet[25] ſupra quod poteſt ſecta ordo[26]
religio fundari, ſed qui incrementum dat deus, ipſe eſt ecc

[b] *1 Cor. 1, 12—13* [c] *1 Cor. 3, 6—8*

religionis *J* *no heading in Ol, the piece has been written, without separatio gether with* Quatuor imprecaciones [3] *C fol. 145a lin. 1* *D fol. 166a* *H fol. 83b lin. 24* *J fol. 29c lin. 31* *Ol Stück 25, there are no numbers o pages, lin. 36* [4] *this stroke is in red ink and is of no consequence* *ACDJOl* est est *H* [6] Mt 15° *in A underlined in red ink* 15° *ACDJ HOl, there is an erasure in Ol* [7] quelibet *ACDHOl* quedam *J, but da underlined, and* libet *is add. in mar. by J[1]* [8] aut *ACDHJ* vel *(sd.) ab* aut *by the texthand Ol* [9] inventa *ACDHJ* adinventa *Ol* [10] *the* t *corr. the text with red ink* sonat *CDHJOl* [11] patronus *ACDHJ* pronus *(cr. below it* patronus *by J[1]* [12] *in A corr. into the text with black ink* sic *Ol,J here the* c *is added later by J[2]* [13] sive *ACHJOl* seu *D* [14] Ide Igitur *CDHOl* [15] ipsos *A* eos *CDHJOl* [16] vestrum *ACDHOl* *om. J* [17] dem *ACHJ* *om. DOl* [18] q. d. non *(sic) AHOl* quasi diceret non *C* quasi d *(sic) DJ* [19] quoniam *ACDHJ* quando *Ol* [20] apostolus *ACHJOl* paul [21] confitetur *ACDJ* profitetur *HOl* [22] subsequenter *ACDHOl* subseque [23] neque *ACDHOl* nec *J* [24] plantat *ACDHOl* plantavit *J* [25] scilice *HJOl* sed *C* [26] s. o. *ACDHOl* o. s. *J*

ındamentum, Quid igitur eſt apollo, quid vere[27] paulus, miniſtri ius cui credidiſtis Et ſequitur[d] vnuſquiſque autem videat quomodo uperedificet,,[28] Fundamentum enim aliud nemo poteſt ponere, preter d quod poſitum eſt criſtus Ieſus, hoc autem fundamentum eſt petra iuſticie, de qua loquitur criſtus in ewangelio[e] d. b.[29] petro Tu es petrus et ſuper hanc petram edificabo eccleſiam meam, Super quo dicit beatus Auguſtinus,[30][f] Non enim a petro petra, ſed petrus a petra, ſicut nec criſtus a criſtiano, ſed criſtianus a criſto vocatur, petra autem erat criſtus, non ergo edificabo me ſupra te, ſed te ſuper me, Nam homines volentes edificare ſuper homines dixerunt, Ego quidem ſum pauli, ego autem[31] apollo, ego vero cephe, vt patet ſupra,[g] per hoc[32] patet, quod nec viui, nec mortui homines, poſſunt eſſe[33] ut fundamentum principale alicuius religionis, Unde beatus Auguſtinus de vera religione[34] dicit,[h] non ſit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum, quia ſi pie vixerunt, non ſic habentur vt tales querant honores,[35] ſed illum a nobis coli volunt,[36] quo illuminante letantur meriti ſui nos eſſe conſortes, honorandi ergo ſunt propter imitacionem, non adorandi propter religionem. hec ille,[37] Ecce quam plane beatus Auguſtinus probat, quod ſancti citra criſtum, non ſunt acceptandi vt principales patroni alicuius religionis, cum talis acceptacio[38] ſit

[d] *I Cor. 3, 10—11* [e] *Matth. 16, 18* [f] *cp. Augustini Opp. tom. I Retract. lib. I cap. XX p. 32 B; tom. V, Sermo LXXVI: quia enim Christus petra, Petrus populus Christianus. Petrus enim principale nomen est. Ideo Petrus a petra, non petra a Petro: quomodo non a Christiano Christus, sed a Christo Christus vocatur; ibid. Sermo CCXLIV 1017 A; Sermo CCLXX p. 1097; Sermo CCXCV p. 1194 D: Tu enim Petrus. A petra Petrus, non a Petro petra. Sic a petra Petrus, quando a Christo Christiani* [g] *cp. note b* [h] *cp. August. Opp. tom. I De vera relig. § 108 p. 786 B; W. here quotes verbatim*

[27] vere *AD* vero *CHJOl* [28] *the second comma is in red, the first in black ink* [29] d. b. *(sic) A* dicens beato *CDJ* d. beato *(sic) H* dicens Beato *Ol* [30] beat. Aug. *ACDHJ in A underlined with red ink* Aug. *Ol in C in mar.:* Augustinus *with a* ☛ [31] autem *ACDHOl* quidem *J* [32] hoc *ACDJ* hoc hec *HOl* [33] possunt esse *AJ* essent *CDHOl* [34] beatus Aug. — relig. *in A underlined with red ink* [35] honores *ACHJOl* honorem *D* [36] volunt *CDHJOl* valunt *A* [37] hec ille *in A underlined with red ink* [38] acceptacio *ACDHOl* accepcio *J*

honor latrie ſoli deo exhibendus, Quicunque igitur[39] ſiue[37] mo- || *A fol. 208b* nachi || ſiue canonici, aut fratres, uel alii aliqui[41] acceptauerint Auguſtinum, Benedictum, Franciſcum aut dominicum, uel aliquem alium citra cristum, in principalem patronum ſecte uel religionis, ſunt ſciſmatici et ydolatre, ab omnibus fidelibus fugiendi, peccant igitur[42] grauiter domini et domine, et populus qui tales ſectas approbant,[43] et inter tales religioſos comorantur eos defendendo aut fouendo in tam grandi peccato ſciſmatis et ydolatrie, quoniam ſecundum apoſtolum[44] Roman.[45] 1°[i] Non ſolum qui talia agunt digni ſunt morte, ſed qui conſenciunt[43] facientibus, nec excuſandi ſunt domini aut domine propter ignoranciam, quoniam ſi cecus ceco ducatum preſtet ambo in foueam cadunt etc.[47]

dubium
nemo peccat in ſpirit. ſ. etc.[48]

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[i] *v. 32*

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[39] igitur *ACJ* ergo *D* *om. HOl* [40] sive *ACDHOl* sunt *J* [41] vel alii aliqui *AJ* vel aliqui alii *CH* aut aliqui alii *DOl* [42] igitur *ACDJ* ergo *HOl* [43] approbant *ACDHOl* p *(cr. out)* approbant *J* [44] apostolum *ACDJOl* apostolos *H* [45] Roman. *ACDHJ* ad Rom. *Ol* [46] consenciunt *CDHJOl* consecuint *A, (compend. om.)* [47] ambo in foveam cadunt etc. *A* ambo in foveam cadunt *CDHOl* ā i fo. ca. etc. *(sic) J* [48] *thus in A* Deo Gracias, Nota 6 species consensus

Consentit cooperans. defendens. consilium dans
Ac auctorizans. non iuvans. nec reprehendens.

Epistola ad simplices sacerdotes *CD* Nota VI species consensus Consentit cooperans defendens consilium dans Ac auctorisans non rimans *(sic)* nec reprehendens *H* Litera parva ad quendam socium *J* Johannes Magister Wyk*(lif) by the texthand Ol*

XVIII.

DE PERFECTIONE STATUUM.

DE PERFECTIONE STATUUM.

I. Division.

Thesis: No private religion can be equal to that of which Christ is the head.

(a) Negative part: Reputation of the opposite assertions, chap. I

(b) Positive part: Such religions are imperfect, chap. II—IV; the Mendicant Orders more especially are injurious to a true Christian life, chap. V—VI.

Conclusion: All Sects should be abolished, chap. VI.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. The Friars assert that their orders hold a higher standard of perfection than the great Church in general founded by Christ, p. 449. This rests mainly on their subjective idea of perfection, p. 450—451. The state of Christ and that of the apostles is in reality a far higher one, p. 452. It is a lie and blasphemy to assert that Christ endues such as enter the monastic orders with especial grace, or that on their entrance into these orders they receive absolution from their sins, p. 452—453.

Chap. II. All Sects, notwithstanding that some good is eventually produced by them, fall short of Christ's law, p. 453—455. Neither the external marks of difference, nor the results falsely supposed to be attendant on the entrance into the order, are sufficient to constitute a higher degree of perfection, p. 456—458.

Chap. III. As examples of the pernicious consequences of the Sects' teaching, are the two combating Popes, who each claim absolute perfection in religious matters for their respective parties, p. 458, at

the same time proclaiming that every Christian has not only the ri
but that it becomes his duty, to slay his brother, p. 459. This is entir
contrary to the Scriptures, to Moses, Paul or Christ: therefore aw
with the Four Orders! p. 460—463.

Chap. IV. *For, taught by the father of lies, they proclaim li by asserting (and falsely quoting the O. T. as their authority) th the present conflict between the two Popes takes place with God's ap probation; whereas all schism is against His laws, p. 463—46 Therefore once again, both, Popes and their chief supporters, th Friars, should be done away with p. 466—467.*

Chap. V. *When examining more closely the principles of th Friars, it is apparent that Christian virtue rests with them in outwar appearance, p. 467. Three great obstacles lie in their way, which prevent them from leading a truly Christian life: (1) their inordinate desire for followers (kidnapping of youths), p. 468; (2) their preference of their own peculiar principles and traditions to those of Christ, p. 469; in connection with this is their hypocrisy and striving after worldly profit, whereas all true holiness must commence from within, p. 470—473.*

Chap. VI. *(3) Their obedience to their superiors, which must necessarily often interfere with their obedience to Christ, whose commands often come into collision with those of the prelates, p. 473. This, besides being injurious to themselves, does harm to the Church, p. 474—476. It would, therefore, be the duty of their superiors to join Christ's side, and thus put an end to all smaller private Sects, p. 476—478. — Even if such advice should be considered heretical, and the adviser be followed by threats and persecutions, it should intimidate no one from leaving their community, as it would deliver the Church from a great burden, p. 478—482.*

III. Date of Composition.

It appears from chap. II and III that the Schism and the war between the two Popes, consequent upon it, was the occasion of this Tract. The former is to be directly inferred from several passages: duobus papis *p. 458,* uterque istorum *p. 458,* ex bullis hiis putridis *etc. p. 459,* isti pape precipiunt *etc. p. 460 etc.; it is also evi-*

from fidelem clericum *etc. p. 461 and* fidelibus ewangelizanti- *etc.* ibidem, *that the controversy between the ecclesiastical authorities Wiclif's travelling preachers was already going on. This controversy place according to Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 168 ff., Fasc. Ziz. —346 and Lechler, J. v. W. I, 691 ff., in the summer of 1382. ppears further, from* licet episcopo Norwicensi *etc., p. 459, that bulls concerning the Crusade had already been issued, see: Walsing- ,. H. A. II, 71 ff. According to Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 171 archbishop of Canterbury ratified the Pope's bulls on the 10th of il. By putting a stress upon the single word* licet, *and inferring it that the real* invasio Flandriae *(which took place in the middle fay 1383, Walsingham, H. A. II, 88; according to Knighton X Scr. ?, 44, in June 1383) had not yet taken place, the date of the position would have to be fixed in the few weeks between the of April and the middle of May 1383.*

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

- *(1) cp. the Wiclif-Catal. of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.*
- *(2) Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 344.*
- *(3) Index of cod. β (flyleaf); cp. above, General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.*
- *4) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1440; 1461; 1468; 1501.*
- *5) Shirley, Catal. No. 78 p. 26.*
- *6) Lechler, J. v. W., II, 567.*[1]

Internal evidence:

- *(1) cp. above, General Introduction V, e.*
- *(2) cp. the many references to English affairs (the Crusade to Flanders, Scottish invasion etc. p. 459)*
- *(3) the division of the Four Sects, peculiar to W.*
- *(4) the reference to De Ordine christiano, cap. VI, note a.*
- *(5) for instance, cap. II, note f; o; cap. III, l; cap. V, a; b; e; cap. VI, a; e; g; n.*

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[1] *With reference to this, cp. p. 568 No. 12; from the Incipit it is evident L. is mistaken; Shirley 'did not overlook the treatise', cp. Catal. No. 78, and, reference to the origin of the mistake, Denis II, 1440.*

V. *Not printed heretofore, with the exception of nine passag[es] termed heretical, which are to be found in Wilkins, Conc. M. B[r.] III, 344.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 4527 = C fol. 148^b—156^a	C^1 = *Corrector (thin hand)* C^2 = *Glosser (in red ink)*
cod. 3930 = D fol. 178^c—186^d	D^1 = *small black hand* D^2 = *small pale hand* D^3 = *thick red hand*
cod. 1337 = E fol. 73^a—81^c	E^1 = *Corrector* E^2 = *Glosser (red hand)*
cod. 3927 = F fol. 37^a—43^a	F^1 = *Corrector (small hand)*

all these in the Imperial Libr. at Vienna

cod. III. G. 11. = β fol. 250^b—156^a	β^1 = *Corrector (in black ink)* β^2 = *(red hand)*

the latter in the Univers.-Libr. at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

They have all originated from the same archetype, probably a Ox[o]chish copy written at Oxford or Prague. This common origin i[s] proved by the missing verb contendere p. 449 l. 5; ut *VI, 94 an[d]* et pondus *p. 477 l. 11.*

A. **Their relationship.** *Class E—F. Both E and F ar[e] most carelessly copied; they contain, however, a number of reading[s] peculiar to themselves, which places their relationship beyond question: see the common ommissions:* esse *I, 12;* laudacione *II, 7;* sua *VI, 54; further* et *(om.) I, 18;* 3 *II, 8;* autem *III, 18;* quam *III, 58;* tali *IV, 36;* hunc *V, 63;* invicem *VI, 31, where E—F, while differing from all the rest, alone give the correct reading; cp. especially* cruciandus *VI, 67. According to my calculation, E—F read the same in 42 instances, when compared with the other codices. The number that approaches nearest is that of class D—β, with only 21 instances of this kind. This number would have been still greater, if E and F had copied with a little more care. — E* **did not originate from** *E: see* dyabol. *etc. I, 17;* et sic patet *etc. I, 22;* digniora seu *I, 28;* obicet. *II, 61;* nisi forte *etc. II, 62;* cum causae *IV, 28;* et iuxta *etc.*

47; dom. arm. *etc. VI, 18;* iniquit. seu *VI, 76; nor F from E: rve the large number of readings peculiar to E which I cannot ticularize here for want of space. — As to their origin, I have been able to ascertain whether both Manuscripts were copied ctly from the same source (which to me does not appear probable), whether their original lies still farther back.*

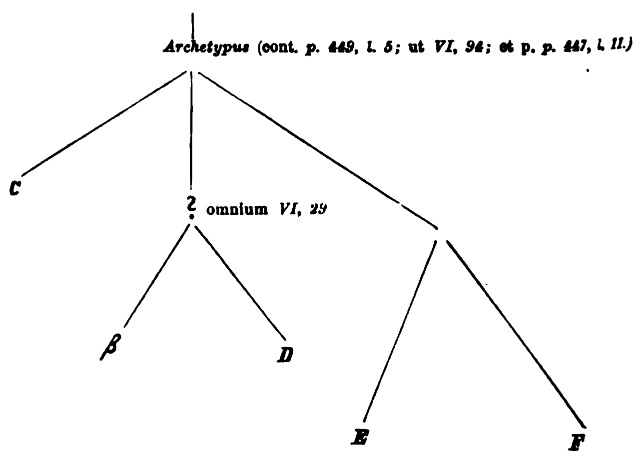
Class D—β. Both codices were copied far less carelessly than either r F. Among the 535 passages (the readings of F and F¹ are in- led in this number), D and β give the same reading in about 400 tances; in 21 cases they give the same reading against the agree- nt of the rest: see sibi *(om.) I, 10;* preco *I, 40;* optima *II, 36;* ucc. *II, 59;* alia *III, 7;* nostro *III, 8;* reput. *III, 37 and IV, 26;* ıd *V, 21;* perspecte *V, 64;* manifesto *VI, 15;* precipit *VI, 33; characteristic for their relationship see* papa *III, 8;* taliter *IV, 30;* ıil. *IV, 40;* orrenda *(without* h*) IV, p. 466 l. 26;* reput. *IV, 26;* ısim. *V, 25;* ut *V, 46;* suas *(om.) V, 77; more especially* quo *VI, ;* omnium *VI, 29, which cannot be explained except as issuing m the same source;* quo *VI, 16, which alone is right, compared th the nonsense* que *of the other MSS.; and, more especially,* ōm̄ *VI, ', i. e.* omnium *point eventually to the same mother, but the mate- ıls are too slight to afford conclusive evidence for this. — β was ot copied directly from D: see* cum *II, 18;* Cristi *VI, 17;* sine ıct. *VI, 104. — Nor was D copied directly from β: see* sim- lex *III, 49;* si isto *III, 43;* plus *III, 56;* sic *V, 40;* ista *VI, 22;* ater *IV, 3. — C does not belong to either class.*

B. **The best Codex.** *F with 163 ($43^1/_3{}^0/_0$) and E with 152 ($37^0/_0$) false readings among the 383 decisive passages, must be at once excluded from the competition for the first place. As F gives in no case independently of the rest a correct reading* (sinerent *III, 16, being an orthographical form), and often contains a continuous series of corruptions, F¹ being also worthless with the exception of* numinis *II, 27 (three of his numerous corrections are incorrect), I will not give in my critical list the variants neither of F, nor of F¹ with the exception of the above few mentioned. On the other hand, the scribe of E in spite of his very careless copy has in no less than four passages* (invitus *IV, 39;* quam *etc. IV, 14;* legiferi *VI, 45;* sine *VI, 73) given*

a correct reading instead of the wrong one contained in the (D and β in only two). I will therefore note down E's read E[1] is not worth much: he has not had any of the four codd. in que as his original (see in addition to fundati *II, 13, also* vel *III, 42;* q *III, 52;* in *V, 38;* talis *V, 49;* tales fing. *VI, 19;* simul *VI,* eo *VI, 34;* wlg. *VI, 48;* debent *VI, 90;* querunt *VI, 108;* *From his corrections it would appear (see* fundati *II, 13;* graci *33;* natura *III, 26;* vel *III, 42;* patr. *V, 22;* et *VI, 83;* pe *VI, 97, besiders others not given here) that he has not corrected cl from his original, but that he arbitrarily mended passages dif to read or to understand. Of E only the characteristic passages mentioned will be taken notice of, in order to give the reade idea of its quality.*

Thus there remain, C with 49, β with 51, and D with 57 readings, among the 380 decisive passages. D was copied carele and in 20 instances has given a wrong reading against the conse of the rest, twice a correct one (suarum *V, 79;* Ex. 32 *V, Closely connected with this codex is the scribe of β, who has in instances a wrong reading and once a correct one* (observanciam *52), so that codex C which gives a wrong reading in only 12 pass should have the preference (notwithstanding the bad condition of c VI, 21—29).*

C has, therefore, been chiefly followed in forming the text. following diagram may be drawn to show the mutual relation the Manuscripts. —



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE PERFECCIONE STATUUM.

CAP. I.[1]

[2] Cum viantes et fratres specialiter contendant circa perfec- || *C fol. 148b lin. 1*
s ordinum | privatorum, supponentes ut fidem, quod quilibet n in perfeccione | excedit communem ordinem cristianum, tracım videtur parumper de | ista materia.

Dicitur autem quendam fratrem *(contendere)* ordinem suum ac[3] m excedere super ordinem episcopi vel papalem, et sic innuit, orn suum esse perfectissimum atque perfecciorem, quam ordinem ıem, quem instituit Iesus noster. Et ut videtur, quilibet frater ıt consequenter de suo ordine sic sentire, quia secundum deum beati Hieronymi[a] et approbacionem ecclesie, non mediocriter

CAP. I. [a] *cp. Corp. iur. can., decr. P. III de Consecratione, Dist. V, cap. 24: Mediocre bonum non est magno praeferendum. Item Hieronymus (in regula Monachorum ex Hieronymo collecta, Polycarpus l. 3. t. 25): non mediocriter errant, qui bono magno praeferunt mediocre bonum etc. cp. L. A. Richter, Corp. iur. can. Lpz. 1839, p. 1235*

CAP. I. [1] *Title, Expl. and Inc. wanting in CF,D, here above the col. 178c itten:* De ordine minorum monachorum *(?) D[3]* Tractatus de perfeccione ım, continet 6 capitula *(above the col., the title is repeated closely above the* De perfeccione statuum 6) *E* de perfeccione statuum *β* [2] *cod. D fol. 178c cod. F fol. 37a lin. 1 (the last part of fol. 36b, as well as fol. 36c and 36d t written upon) cod. E fol. 73a lin. 1 (here as in nearly all the tracts of MS. there is added, high above, close to the col. of the text:* cor*(rectus) fol. 250a lin. 8* [3] ac *CDEβ* et *F*

peccat, qui propositis duobus bonis indifferenter eligibilibus magno bono postposito elegit minus bonum.

Et confirmatur racio ista principio, cum deus non potest illum excusare a culpa, qui in tali casu postposuit sibi melius et eligit minus, et specialiter supposita indifferenti et equa facilitate utrumlibet eligendi. Ad hoc enim deus indidit homini naturaliter libertatem arbitrii, qua talis abutitur, ut sic facit. Ideo dicit metricus[5]:

> Qui valet[6] eligere et capit et minus[7] utile gratis,
> Est fatuus vere nec[8] sapit ipse satis.

Supposito ergo isto morali principio tamquam fide, videtur, quod quilibet frater debet concedere, quod stulte fuit ingressus suum ordinem vel quod suus ordo sit sibi optimus inter omnes. Nam ante ingressum in suum ordinem positus[9] fuit in eleccione libera quemcunque quatuor ordinum[b], quem voluerit, eligendum, ut suppono. Et cum aliis paribus istum ordinem elegerat et non stulte, ergo illa eleccio fuit de ordine vel statu sibi[10] optima. Patet consequencia[11] ex dictis.

Sed hic dicitur, quod cuicunque fratri est suus ordo optimus, sed non cuilibet, cum non loquamur de meliori simpliciter, sed de utiliori persone date secundum habitudinem respectivam.

Sed arguendo contra istam argueiam, suppono, quod non stulte sophisticetur in isto sophismate dyaboli, quod ordo meus est michi optimus, quia ex eleccione prima maxime prodest michi. Loquimur enim, ac si essemus ante accepcionem status huiusmodi et deus sciret ac ordinaret esse[12] michi istum ordinem meliorem, et sic iste ordo saperet[13] perfeccionem simpliciter ultra perfecciones alias michi et cuilibet pro ingressu. Aliter enim oporteret concedere, quod qui-

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[b] *i. e. Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines and Carmelites, cp. for instance De quatt. Sect. nov. cap. IX, above p. 274*

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[4] eligit *CDβ* elegit *E* [5] *in E is add. in mar.:* Metricus contra eleccionem minus boni *E*[2] [6] valet *CDβ* videt *E* [7] el. et c. et m. u. *CD* eli. cap. et mi. u. *E* [8] nec *CDβ* et nec *E* [9] positus *CDβ* penitus *E* [10] sibi *C(?)E* *om. Dβ* [11] consequencia *CDβ* consequens *E* [12] esse *CDβ* *om. EF* [13] saperet *CEβ* superet *D*

libet status dyaboli sit sibi utilior quam aliquis[14] status beatorum, cum iste status facit sibi bonum, quia dampnacionem iustam et divine iusticie complementum. Ideo cum status iste ordinatur a deo, patet, quod ille, ut est iustus, sic est tali dyabolo[15] status bonus.

Sed non loquimur ad hunc sensum, quod status,[16] in quo est quicunque dyabolus, vel status viantis, in quo est quicunque[17] purgator latrine vel quantumcunque abiectus, sit melior atque perfeccior statu quolibet assignando, quia isti utilior. Nam frater hoc modo equivocans deturpat suum ordinem et non ornat.

Supposito ergo, quod loquamur simpliciter de perfeccione status in se, propter || cuius status vel ordinis ingressum ipsum accipiens || *C fol. 149* est ut sic perfeccior, quam foret ex ingressu ordinis alterius bassioris, tunc videtur, quod quilibet status fratrum sit sub non gradu perfeccionis et per consequens imperfeccior et[18] quam aliquis status dyaboli.

Nam nullus, ut ingreditur talem ordinem fratrum[19], est sub aliquo gradu perfeccionis, quod tamen oporteret, si talis ordo foret perfectus ad sensum expositum, ergo est ut sic sub non gradu perfeccionis. Non enim est puer, in quantum factus frater, sub aliquo gradu perfeccionis essencialis, cum illa manet invariabilis sicut humanitas. Et loquendo de perfeccione accidenciali, cum non potest dici perfeccio in virtute eo, quod tunc foret quilibet frater ut huiusmodi virtuosus, relinquitur, quod sit perfeccio disposicionis hominis ad virtutem. Non enim est sub aliquo gradu perfeccionis vel reputacionis hominis, quoad[20] mundum, quia stultus foret, qui ea intencione acciperet statum fratris. Et sic patet, quod oportet logicum statum perfeccionis fratris[21] ad[22] disposicionem moribus retorqueri.

Capit[23] autem blasphemiam ista presumpta perfeccio status fratrum, quia status, quam Cristus immediate instituit ante fratres,

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[14] aliquis *CDβ* alius *(?) E* [15] t. dy. *CDβ* dy. t. *E* [16] stat. *CDβ,E in mar. is add. by E*[1] viantis [17] dyabolus v. st. v. in q. est quicunque *CDEβ om. F* [18] et *CDβ om. EF* [19] fratrum *C* fratris *DEβ* [20] quoad *CDβ* ergo *E* [21] fratris *CEβ* fratrum *D* [22] Et sic patet — fratris ad *CDEβ,F*[1] *mar. om. F* [23] capit *CDE* capiat *β*

disposuit[24] suos apostolos per statum, quem eis imposuit ad gradum in moribus alciorem. Et patet ex fide, ista disposicio fuit[25] melior in effectu. Aliter enim oporteret concedere, quod frater huiusmodi sit futurus in celo alcior sancto Petro, quod esset omnino[26] blasphemia.

Cum ergo Cristus, patronus noster,[c] sit quocunque patrono suo privato infinitum perfeccior[27] et infundebat graciam cuicunque, quem ad statum esse cristiani acceperat, ad regulam digniorem et alia carismata tribuit digniora seu[28] meliora, quam potest patronus privatus istorum ordinum, — videtur, quod ordo Cristi in gradu infinitum perfecciori cristianum[29] instituit, quem[30] ut sic instituit aliquis[31] ordo fratrum. Sicut enim se habet magnitudo superficiei ad magnitudinem linee, sic perfeccio ordinis cristiani ad perfeccionem ordinum privatorum.

Et hic rutilat fratrum blasphemia, qui sompniant, quod Cristus pepigit cum eis,[32] quod[33] si in ordinem suum quis intraverit, Cristus dabit sibi graciam ampliorem et faciet, ut sit disposicior[34] de tanto ad sibi moraliter serviendum. Non enim recollo de blasphemia ficta falsius et infundabilius in scriptura, cum Cristus istum statum fratrum tam diu nimis invide[35] expectaret. Et patet ex isto[36] blasphemia preconizata hodie de istis privatis ordinibus, quod eo ipso, quo quis aliquem istorum[37] ingreditur, est absolutus de quocunque crimine, quod comisit.

Idem enim foret blasphemiam istam asserere et Cristum ordini fratrum subicere, cum in ordinem apostolicum[38] recepit[39] Scarioth

[c] *in contradistinction from the patroni of the Four Orders, cp. for instance above p. 22; 64; 139*

[24] disposuit *not clear in CD* [25] fuit *CDβ* ista *(cr. out & ud.)* fuit *E* [26] omnino *CDβ* omne *E* [27] *in D is add. in mar.:* Patronus Cristus noster perfeccior quocunque privato patrono *D*[1] [28] digniora seu *E* *om. CDβ* [29] cirst. *CDβ* gradu *(cr. out & ud.)* crist. *E* [30] quem *CDβ* quam *E* [31] aliquis *CDβ* laius *E* [32] pep. c. e. *E,C transposed by marks* c. pep. e. *β, (originally in) C* pep. e. *D* [33] quod *CDβ* *om. E* [34] sit disposicior *CDβ* sic disposiciorem *E* [35] *here begins in β a new hand which, on the whole, is similar to the old one, differing from it merely in the ductus of a few letters* [36] isto *CDβ* ista *E* [37] istorum *CE* illorum *Dβ* [38] apost. *CDβ* istum ap. *E* [39] recepit *CEβ* receperit *D*

peccato[40] finalis impenitencie viciatum. Numquid[41] credimus solum predestinatos ordinem fratrum intrare? Certus sum quidem ex fide, quod tunc eciam[42] habitus corporalis vel ritus, quem ipsi observant, est impertinens tali fratri, nec scit aliquis, utrum in toto ordine suo sit aliquis talis frater, et ecclesia militans foret plena illusionibus et mendaciis horum fratrum.

CAP. II.[1]

‖ Sed ut materia ista sit nocior et fundacio modo loquendi stabilior, suppono, quod ordo vel status ad propositum accipiatur pro disposicione active[2] serviendi[3] deo personis pluribus limitata. Sic enim dicitur, quod dampnati sine ordine puniuntur. Et religio est obligacio,[4] qua mediate persone in tali statu vel ordine religantur.[a] Religio autem privata est religio, preter religionem domini, expressam[5] in ewangelio, adinventa[6] et ista privatur laudacione,[7] fundacione laudabili,[b] cum Paulus ipsam respuit ut peccatum, ut patet I Cor. 1 et 3.[8c] Et sic omnis privata religio sapit ut sic imperfeccionem et peccatum, quo homo indisponitur ad libere deo serviendum.[d] ‖ C fol. 149b

Unde cuncti patroni istorum ordinum ut sic peccaverant, licet

CAP. II. [a] *W. here follows the etymology of Lactantius, Inst. IV, 28: nomen religionis a vinculo pietatis deductum est, quod hominem sibi deus religavit et pietate obstrinxit; cp. also Cicero, De Nat. Deor. II, 28* [b] *cp. below De Relig. priv. I cap. I commencement. This passage was considered heretical in a letter of the University of Oxford addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1412, cp. Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. (edition of 1737) III, 344* [c] *I Cor. 10—13; 3, 4—6* [d] *this passages also was looked upon as heretical, cp. Wilkins, ibid.*

[40] peccato *CE,β¹ in mar.* preco *D* precio *β* [41] numquid *CDEβ* nec *E¹ in mar.* [42] eciam *Cβ,E¹ in mar. om. ED*

CAP. II. [1] Capm 2m *D,C in mar.* 2 *E² om. β* [2] active *CDβ* activa *E* [3] *in β is add. in mar.:* Ordo quid est *β¹ in D:* Ordo vel status *D¹* [4] *in β is add. in mar.:* Religio quid est *β¹ in D is add. above the col.:* Religio privata quid est et quid sapit *D¹* [5] expressam *D* expressa *CEβ* [6] adinventa *CDβ* adventa *E* [7] laudacione *CDβ om. EF* [8] 1 & 3 *Dβ* 1 & 2° *C* 2 & 3° *EF*

sti ordines faciant occasionaliter multa bona[e]; nec repugnat, quod multe persone istorum ordinum, que prius graviter peccaverunt,[9] ex dei gracia et contricione salutem et beatitudinem postmodum consequantur,[10] manent tamen ut in[11] istis ordinibus illibertati[12] et indispositi ad promerendum, sicut viri apostolici in ordine cristiano simplici fundati,[13] licet[14] tales pedice adinvente prosint[15] per accidens ad peccata aliqua precavenda, sic, quod tales adinvenciones in aliquo excedunt lapsum a religione simplici[16] cristiana. Et in aliquo lapsus ille est prestancior vel minus[17] malus quam religiones huiusmodi adinvente. Et si allegentur patroni moderni, qui et sancte vixerunt et modo canonizantur, tamquam in triumphante ecclesia membra ecclesie nobilia et beata, dicitur probabiliter ut sepe superius,[f] quod isti canonizati longe aliter vixerunt in ordine simplici cristiano, quam vivunt hodie filii eorum ab eis degenerantes, qui sunt cum[18] signis sensibilibus desponsati.

Unde Benedictus[19] precipuus inter monachos dicit, quod ordo eorum est idem in numero cum sanctis, qui erant in Ierusalem, quibus apostolus[20] a deo suffragatur.[g] Et[21] quoad canonicos dicit Petrus Comestor,[h] quod ordo canonicorum est idem cum eorundem

[e] *cp. Wilkins, ibid. III, 344* [f] *with reference to this, cp. a similar idea above De nova Praev. Mand. p. 144; also p. 304* [g] *cp Act. 1, 24—26* [h] *Petrus Comestor is the author of the Historia Scolastica (printed in Paris 1513), an abridgement of the Bible History from the creation down to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, once very popular in the Middle Ages. De Lyra very frequently quotes from the book. It was very much used in the great theological schools of the time like the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus. Petrus Comestor was a priest, later a dean of Troyes in the twelfth century, in 116[?] chancellor of the University of Paris and is said to have written the Historia in the year 1171, 'at the urgent entreaty of many friends*

[9] peccaverunt *CDβ* peccaverant *Eβ¹* *(from corr.* unt*)* [10] consequantur *CDE* consequatur *β* [11] in *CDβ* sic in *E* [12] illibertati *CD* illibati *β, but mar.* illiberati *β¹* illi beati *(?) E* [13] fundati *C (?), E¹ in mar. om. Eβ* [14] licet *CDβ* sed tales *(cr. out & ud.)* sed *E* [15] prosint *CDβ* prosunt *E* [16] simplici *CDβ, E¹ in mar. om. E* [17] minus *CDβ* unus *E* [18] cum *CE* de *(cr. out & ud.) D* quasi *cr. out, above it by the texthand* cum *β* [19] Benedictus *CEβ* Bernhardus *D* [20] apostolus *CEβ* a populis *(? apostolis) D* [21] *here in β the old hand sets in again, cp. cap. I n. 35*

sanctorum Ierusalem, et sic variacio in vestibus vel aliis ritibus sensibilibus non fecit substancialem differenciam in ordine quoad illos. Et sic omnes monachi ac[22] canonici, albi vel nigri,[k] dicebantur[23] eiusdem ordinis simplicis cristiani, sic quod non fuerunt[24] cum signis sensibilibus tamquam substanciali differencia ordinis desponsati, quia sic ordines alborum monachorum et nigrorum differrent[25] specifice, et sic quotquot monachi sive canonici albi vel nigri laudabiliter hic vixerunt, signa talia sensibilia preter suum ordinem tamquam adventicia decreverunt.

Et sic debet esse de cunctis fratribus cum vocatis religiosis possessionatis, cum secularibus de ordine simplici cristiano. Nichil enim blasphemius quam imponere deo, quod sit aliquid[26] latentis numinis[27] in istis signis sensibilibus modo, quo hodie sompniantur, ideo nichil istis privatis ordinibus et sanctis patronis[28] prioribus, qui aliquid consuetudinis hodierne accidentaliter servaverint,[29] quod ordo privatus habeat.[30]

Limitando ergo illos novellos ordines ad sensum expositum, videtur luce clarius, quod[31] infinitum sit cristiana || religio perfeccior, || *C fol. 150a* quam sint ille, cum sub non gradu sint religiones iste intelligendo simpliciter negative.

Probatur sic: quilibet intrans[32] religionem cristianam ut sic

order to elucidate the too brief and obscure narrative of Holy Scripture.' At last, he retired into the monastery of St. Victor, where he died in 1179 leaving all his property to the poor. On his tomb the following inscription is said to have been written;

Petrus eram, quem Petra tegit, dictusque Comestor
Nunc comedor. Vivus docui, nec cesso docere
Mortuus, ut dicat, qui me videt intumulatum:
Quod sumus, iste fuit; erimus quandoque, quod hic est.

He is the 'Mangiadore' of Dante, Parad. XII, 134 [k] *i. e. Franciscans and Dominicans*

[22] ac *CE* atque *Dβ* [23] dicebantur *CDβ, in E is add.* bantur *in mar., referring to* dice *of the text* [24] fuerunt *CDβ* fuerint *E* [25] different *CDβ* differunt *E* [26] aliquid *CDβ (?)* aliud *E* [27] numinis *C¹F¹ in mar.* minimis *EFβ, in C there is a blank space* minis *(?* nimis*) D* [28] patr. *CDβ* privatis patr. *E* [29] servaverint *CE* servaverit *Dβ* [30] quod or. pr. h. *C,E¹ in mar.* *om. EDβ* [31] quod *CDβ,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [32] intrans *CEβ* intrando *D*

vestitur gradu,[33] sed quilibet religiosus talis privati ordinis intrans[34] illum infinitum[35] indisponitur, quoad bonum gracie recepti. sic quod infinitum distat in disposicione sua operativa,[36] quam habet ut talis ordinis a disposicione, quam habet fidelis proprie cristianus. Nam ut sic habet fidem catholice[37] informatam. Ideo secundum Augustinum et Chrysostomum multi sunt[38] false nominetenus[39] solummodo cristiani, cum non sunt[40] proprie cristiani, nisi imitantur Cristum in moribus et in vita. Et idem sen-ciendum est de membris sancte matris ecclesie, ut docet Augustinus de[41] Doctrina Cristiana lib.[42] III de septem regulis Tygonii, dicens,[1] quod[43] presciti numquam fuerunt[44] membra corporis domini, quod est sancta mater ecclesia. Ipsa enim per signum nobis incognitum ut graciam predestinantis,[45] que est caritas, que non potest excidere, et vestis nupcialis, per quam intratur ad[46] patriam, distingwitur ab ecclesia malignancium.

Sic enim loquebantur sancti et scioli de ecclesia sponsa Cristi. Non enim presciencia dei eterna permittit, quod fiat divorcium inter Cristum et ecclesiam, sponsam suam, cum eternaliter elegit atque disposuit,[47] cum quibus membris voluit desponsari, et illa membra elegit ante mundi constitucionem, ut dicunt Petrus et

[1] *cp. Augustin. Opp. P. I tom. III De Doctr. christ. cap. XXXI, p. 58: quia non solum in aeternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritae non cum illo esse dicendi sunt, quamvis in eius esse videantur ecclesia; cap. XXXVII p. 63: in ista novissima (i. e. regula) aliquando in diabolum dicitur, quod non ipso, sed potius in eius corpore possit agnosci, quod habet non solum in eis, qui manifestissime foris sunt, sed in eis etiam, qui cum ad ipsum pertineant, tamen ad tempus miscentur ecclesiae, donec unusquisque de hac vita exeat vel a frumento palea ventilabro ultimo separetur. cp. Luke 3, 17*

[33] gradu *CDβ* gradu *E* (du *ad. and above* gra *a compendium by E¹, therefore*) gracia *E¹* [34] int. *CDβ* sic int. *E* [35] infinitum *CDβ* infinite *E* [36] operativa *CE* optima *Dβ* [37] catholice *C(?),DEβ* caritate *E¹ in mar.* [38] sunt *CDβ* sunt sunt *E* [39] nominetenus *CDβ* nominotenus *E* [40] sunt *CDβ* sint *E* [41] de *C* 3° de *EβD* [42] libro *CDβ* capitulo *E* [43] quod *CEβ* quoniam *D* quando *D¹ in mar.* [44] fuerunt *Cβ* fuerint *DE* [45] predestinantis *C* predestinacionis *Eβ* predestinatis *D* [46] ad *CDβ* in *E* [47] disposuit *in E corr. from* disponit *by E¹*

aulus[m] et per consequens divinitus eleccione, que cassari non oterit et finiri,[48] sicut predestinacio non potest interimi.

Si autem coacti sunt homines per anticristum concedere, quod uicunque prelati ecclesie, qui de facto sub[49] ecclesia malignanium sunt, sancta mater ecclesia, sponsa Cristi, equivocatur[50] infieliter in fide,[51] et per idem anticristus posset cogere homines ɔtaliter a fide Cristi excidere.[52] Verum est enim, quod Cristus legit humanitus, sed non divinitus tamquam apostolum dyabolum lum Scarioth, ut dicit ewangelium Iohannis[n]: nonne duodecim os elegi, et unus ex vobis dyabolus est. Sed iste Scarioth, qui ion eligebatur divinitus neque[53] humanitus, ut sit membrum sancte natris ecclesie, semper non habuit graciam predestinacionis, que st caracter, quo oportet omnia membra sancte matris ecclesie inigniri. Et patet conclusio supradicta.

Et hic erubescerent nostri privati ordines blasphemantes, quod eo ipso, quo quis ingreditur[54] eorum ordinem,[55] vestitur corporali[56] habitu, quem taliter solempnizant, deleretur[57] omne peccatum suum preteritum[58] et nova gracia informatur. Hoc enim non contingit regulariter de statu apostolico, ut patet de Scarioth. Unde anticristus in hoc extollitur false super Cristum, cum non plus propter inducionem[59] sui corporalis habitus sit istud miraculum, quam si quis indueret arma vel habitum militarem. Status enim militaris est statu istorum privatorum ordinum plus laudabilis ex scriptura,[o] verum tamen eo ipso, quo quis accipit statum sacerdocii sive episcopatus aut ordinis militaris, oportet dominum[60] ipsum tali miraculo illustrare.

[m] *cp. Rom. 8, 29—30* [n] *cp. John 6, 70* [o] *vgl. Trial. 364: patet, quod ordo militaris sit hoc ordine fratrum mendicantium excellentior, longe perfectior atque prior*

[48] finiri *in E nearly illegible* [49] sub *C* sunt *DEβ* [50] equivocatur *CDβ* equivocantur *E* [51] *in D is add. in mar.:* Nota bene, ecclesia malignancium sunt*(?)* sancta mater ecclesia, sponsa Cristi, infideliter *D*[3] [52] excidere *CDβ* excedere *E* [53] neque *CDβ* nec *E* [54] ingr. *CE* eorum ing. *Dβ* [55] eorum ordinem *E* *om. CDβ* [56] corporali *CDβ* corpali *E* [57] deleretur *C* deletur *DEβ* [58] preteritum *in E not quite clear* (patratum*?*) [59] inducionem *C* inducionem *E* inducionem *Dβ* [60] dominum *C* deum *E* domini *D,β (?)*

Et si obicitur, quod talis prelatus ecclesie debet membr ecclesie reputari, cum Ioseph secundum ewangelium fuit pater d mini putativus,[p] dicitur, quod obiectus iste implicat, talem prelatu cesareum esse false membrum ecclesie reputandum. — Quod[61] c
C fol. 150b ‖ sit falsum eo, quod debet credi operibus, quibus sacerdos sequit dominum Iesum Cristum, videtur michi, quod peccatum est, rep tare talem caput particularis ecclesie vel membrum sancte matr ecclesie, nisi forte equivocetur, quod sit membrum ecclesie[62] ma lignancium.

Et quantum ad istud dictum allegatum de Ioseph certum est,[63] quod fuit pater putativus Cristi, ut dicit ewangelium,[p] et non secundum falsam reputacionem, sed secundum curam et denomi nacionem, qua spiritus sanctus denominat ipsum patrem.

CAP. III.[1]

Ex istis dictis potest colligi, si vera sunt, que narrantur[2] de istis duobus papis,[a] qui concedunt viriliter defendentibus partem suam, quod religio, quam ipsi in hoc instituunt, excedit in bonitate religionem Cristi et religiones quascunque privatas per novos pa tronos post religionem Cristi in ecclesiam introductas. Dicitur enim, quod uterque istorum paparum concedit suis militibus plenam absolucionem a pena et a culpa,[b] et quod quicunque aliquem virum quantumcunque ecclesiasticum impedierit,[c] papa[3] ipsum excommu nicat eo ipso. Et de quibuscunque regnis licet curato percipere fructus sui beneficii ex integro, ac si frater ille ewangelice re sideret.

Nec dubium, quin, si hoc sit verum, a mundi exordio non fuit maius seminarium discordie et bellorum.

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[p] *cp. Luke 3, 23: Jesus erat — ut putabatur, filius Joseph etc.*

CAP. III. [a] *Clement VII. and Urban VI.* [b] *cp. Walsingham H. A. II, 72—73* [c] *cp. Wilkins, Conc. M. Br. III, 177—17*; *Walsingham II, 75*

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[61] obiect.— reput. quod *CDEβ, F[1] in mar. om. E* [62] nisi f.— ecclesie *CDEβ F[1] in mar. om. F* [63] est *CDβ,E[1] in mar. om. E*

CAP. III. [1] Cap. 3m *C* 3 *E[2]* cap. III *D om. β* [2] narrantur *CEβ* variantur *D* [3] papa *Dβ* papam *CE*

Fratres autem et doctores precipue ex consensu suorum ordinum istam blasphemiam populo preconisant.

Ex istis videtur primo probabiliter inferendum, quod quilibet homo de ecclesia nostra occidua habet bullatam licenciam ad fratrem suum corporaliter occidendum.[4] Probatur sic: multi sunt in regnis occiduis, quorum quidam uni illorum paparum consenciunt atque favent et aliqui reliquo,[5] ut experiencia manifestat, sed quemcunque talem licet sic occidere et mereri beatitudinem, ut contrarie licencie istud dicunt, ergo conclusio.[6]

Sicut enim licet episcopo Norvicensi[d] invadere regnum Francie et alia[7] quecunque Urbano nostro[8] contraria et hoc sub obtentu beatitudinis, sic dicitur cuidam prelato de Scocia esse concessam potenciam ampliorem, invadere regnum nostrum et quamcunque[9] personam, que tenuerit cum Urbano.[e]

Secundo videtur ex bullis hiis putridis tam false contrariis sibi ipsis, quod quilibet in cristianismo nostro habitans tenetur sub pena dampnacionis occidere fratrem suum. Illi enim, qui habent corporalem potenciam tenentur, velle sic invadere aliquem fratrem suum, cum aliter exciderent a spirituali suffragio repromisso,[10] quod foret delictum maximum omissionis, ut patet ex dictis bullis, faciliter inferendum. Et cum iuxta beatum Iohannem omnis, qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est,[f] patet ex bullis predictis, quomodo[11] quilibet de cristianismo[12] nostro tenetur occidere fratrem suum.

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[d] *By a papal bull (cp. Walsingham II, 72 ff.) Henry Le Spenser, Bishop of Norwich had been put at the head of the Crusaders, who fought against Clement VII., cp. Knighton, X Script. 2672* [e] *So far I can discover, a notice explaining this is not to be found in the cotemporary chronicles. Walsingham, Knighton and the Ypodigma Neustriae speak only of political complications which had taken place between Richard II. and Scotland* [f] *cp. I John 3, 15*

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[4] occidendum *CDβ* occidendo *E* [5] reliquo *CDβ* aliquo *E* [6] ergo conclusio *CDβ* igitur consequencia vera *E* [7] alia *Dβ* aliam *CE* [8] nostro *Dβ* nostra *CE* [9] quamcunque *DEβ* quantumcunque *C* [10] repromisso *CEβ* repromissio *D* [11] quomodo *DEβ* quod *(ud.) C, then* quom. *after* quilibet, *but transposed by marks into its right place* [12] cristianismo *CDβ* cristianissimo *E*

Tenetur enim odire quemcunque, qui est contrarius pape suo, e multi sunt tales fratres in mundo. Ergo conclusio.

Nec dubium, quin deus non potest copulatim licenciam tales expressam[13] in bullis concedere, cum alter illorum vel uterque licenciat[14] satis implicite hominem alteri invidere. Unde num quam ex lege nova vel veteri fundari potest, quod quicunque ho mines, eciam episcopi, tantum mereantur ad fratres suos in natura taliter occidendo, cum Cristus rogavit[15] hostes suos, quia, si ipsum
|| C fol. 151a quererent, sinerent[16] hos || abire,[17] Ioh. 18.[g]

Isti ergo[18] pape e contra precipiunt sub obtentu beatitudinis quod si pars adversa ipsum vel ipsos[19] quesierint,[20] quod sinant[21] ipsum papam abire liberum et omnino suum adversarium, vel ad versarios non sinant[21] abire liberos, sed occidant. — Ubi ergo est ista regula cristiana, quod homo debet inimicos suos[22] diligere, sicut Cristus in articulo capcionis sue querit de Scarioth: amice, ad quid venisti?

Scrutetur ergo cristianus condiciones sedecim caritatis[h], quas notat apostolus I. Cor. 13,[i] et videbit manifeste, quod uterque isto rum paparum cum suis complicibus sit in invidia opposita caritati. Si enim homo debet[23] regulariter[24] diligere melius in natura et utraque communitas[25] sibi contraria est et nulla[26] melius et[27] evi denter melior in moribus tali papi, quomodo ergo stat caritas in papa, qui precipit tam attente unam communitatem reliquam occi dere, specialiter cum a probabili communitas sua ad magnum damp num tam corporis quam anime occidetur? Ubi ergo est verbum istud sancti Moysi, Exod. 32[28][k]: aut dimitte populo huic noxam

[g] *v. 8* [h] *as to this, cp. Suppl. Trial. p. 439 ff.* [i] *v. 4—* [k] *v. 10*

[13] expressam *β* expressum *CDE* [14] licenciat *CDβ* liceat *E* [15] rogav *CEβ* rogaverit *D* [16] sinerent *F* sinirent *CDEβ* [17] *in D is add. below t. col.:* Cristus cum quesitus fuit fecit sinere abire [18] ergo *CDβ* autem [19] ipsum vel ipsos *CDβ* ipsos vel ipsum *E* [20] quesierint *CDβ* quesierunt [21] sinant *CDβ* sentenciat *E* [22] i. s. *CDβ* s. i. *E* [23] h. d. *CDβ* d. h. [24] regulariter *CEβ* naturaliter *DF,E¹ in mar.* [25] comm. *CEβ* caritas *(vel* comm. *D* [26] nulla *CDEβ* natura *E¹ in mar.* [27] et *CDβ* vel *E* [28] Exo *D, above it* 32, *both figures on an erasure* cc *(in red ink) β²* *blank space* CE

hanc, aut dele me de libro vite, in quo me scripsisti, propter quod dicitur a vindicta manuum[29] domini tenuisse,[30] et hinc deus dixit sibi[l]: dimitte me, ut irascatur furor meus. Et sic Paulus cupiebat anathema esse pro fratribus. Ymo, Cristus, caput ecclesie, voluit torqueri atrocissime et occidi pro hominibus tunc inimicis[31] salvandis tam corpore quam anima, ut fides ewangelii clare docet.

Quomodo ergo secuntur isti pape Cristum in moribus, cuius se dicunt vicarios, tantum in donis[32] tam corporalibus quam spiritualibus[33] excellentes?

Revera videtur, quod venenum dyaboli nimis diu inclusum in isto capite ex graciosa vindicta dei tamquam virulencia[34] in ulcere est diruptum. Et cum dyabolus ex subtilitate sue cautele subdole facit homines tam perplexos, quod vix est regnum occiduam, in quo secundum partes multas et magnas non habeat quoad unum papam vel alium[35] aliquos adiutores — ad tantum enim cecavit seculares dominos per suos discipulos anticristos, quod reputarent fidelem clericum, qui diceret sentenciam ewangelicam in hac parte, esse summum hereticum a prelatis et toto populo occidendum — ideo, si non fallor, a mundi principio usque nunc non fuit fidelibus ewangelizantibus[36] maius periculum, quam est nunc in isto meridiano demonio[l] sic regnante. Nunc enim tam clerus quam seculares domini seducti reputabant,[37] talem esse hereticum, et sic in suo iudicio tam corpore quam anima condempnabunt. Sed ubi fuit tam gravis persecucio in istis tribus periculis antedictis? Sed tamen certus sum ex fide, quod ve istis cristianis, quibus deus dedit noticiam fidei in ista materia, et imminente tanto periculo obmutescunt.

Bene[38][m] autem videtur Iudeis et Grecis fidelibus, qui indifferenter istos papas respiciunt vel contemptibiliter tamquam precipuos anticristos.

[l] *with ref. to this, cp. the Tract of this name, p. 417 ff.; as to the phrase mer. daem., cp. Ps. 91, 6* [m] *the* bene *corresponds to the* ve *which is preceding*

[29] manuum *CDE¹* manum *β* *om. E* [30] propter quod — tenuisse *CDβ,E¹ with mark of ref. above the col.* *om. E* [31] inimisci *CDE* ininicis *β* [32] donis *D,E¹ in mar.* domis *Cβ* dampnis *E* [33] spiritualibus *Cβ,E¹ in mar.* anime *ED* [34] virulencia *CDE* virulenti *β* [35] alium *CDE* alios *β* [36] ewangelizantibus *CDβ* ewangelibus *E* [37] reputabant *CE* reputabunt *Dβ* [38] bene *CE* unde *Dβ*

Tercio videtur tamquam probabile, regna debere omnes b quatuor ordines fratrum compellere, ut de regnis exeant ad p trem suum precipuum, scilicet papam[39] sub obtentu tanti pre adiuvandum.

Pro cuius declaracione suppono, quod fratres precipui istorum ordinum sentenciam sui pape approbant et confirmant, ym cum diligencia sentenciam istam pape[40] preconisant; vel ergo fol. 151b dicant[41] istam || sentenciam tamquam[42] veram, vel tamquam falsam vel fictam sub obtentu premii temporalis, si isto[43] secundo modo debent tamquam proditores falsissimi tam corporis quam anime a regnis, que incolunt, exulare; leviores enim proditores in regnis racionabiliter sunt occisi.

Si primo modo dicant, necessitantur[44] concedere, quod quicunque fratres cuiuscunque etatis vel status fuerint, tenentur[45] sub obtentu beatitudinis ad finem, quem ex bullis pape exprimunt, totis viribus properare. Nulla enim excusacio vel racio[46] tardaret aliquem fratrem ad istud negocium dimittendum, quia nec preceptum divinum[47] nec sua nova religio vel occupacio melior, quam habere poterit isto officio pretermisso. Nam cum papa uterque dicit, quod deus precipit, sicut suis complicibus ipse dictat, et in deo non potest esse contradiccio, uterque istorum paparum tenetur concedere, quod deus precipit, sicut ipse promulgat, sue ecclesie faciendum. Nec ordo suus obstaret, cum eo ipso excommunicantur a papa taliter demandante, et nimis ceca foret stulticia ordinem tam sanctum dimittere et in suo merdoso ordine residere.

Deus enim et per consequens patroni novorum ordinum non possent meliorem ordinem stabilire, quia, ut dicitur, eo ipso, quo quis laborat sedule in tali negocio, est plenarie absolutus et per consequens sine timore dampnacionis pro suo tempore est beatus. Sed nec ordo apostolicus nec alius novellus vel hucusque nomina-

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[39] pa. *CDβ* ad pa. *E* [40] pape *CDβ* populo *E* [41] dicant *CDβ* dicunt *E* [42] tam. *CDEβ* vel *E¹* *in mar. with mark of ref. to* tam. *(F reads* sent. veram vel tamquam falsam vel fi. *etc.)* [43] si isto *CDE* sed (ed *cr. out, above it* i *by texthand) β* [44] necessitantur *CDβ* necessitanter *E* [45] tenentur *CDE* teneantur (a *cr. out & ud. by texthand) β* [46] ex. v. r. *CDE* r. v. e. *β* [47] divinum *C,E¹* *in mar.* domini *DEβ*

bilis[48] fuit[49] tali privilegio insignitus. Non ergo degenerat, qui relinquit[50] suum antiquum ordinem et in isto ordine tam egregio laborat, nec etas vel status aliquis personalis excusaret fratrem ab execucione[51] istius negocii patris[52] sui, cum ipso existente potente et valido suus exitus promoveret et ipso existente[53] impotente in corpore suum consilium, sua[54] oracio vel[55] sua volicio adiuvaret.

Sic enim dicitur, quosdam milites plus[56] quam octogenarios ex fratrum consilio velle in isto negocio laborare. Non enim possunt fratres patencius ostendere, se false loqui et proditorie populo,[57] cui istam sentenciam sic declarant, quasi[58] ab execucione istius negocii in regnis, que incolunt, expectare.

CAP. IV.[1]

Ex ista conclusione tercia inferri poterit evidenter, quod duplex[2] pater[3] istarum fratrum, scilicet dyabolus et papa,[4] ipsos necessitat exire regna et provincias et deserta loca incolere,[5] sicut olym. Nam manifeste produnt populo hereses regnorum specialiter destructivas; nam manifestum destructivum[6] est fidei regnorum credere alterum[7] istorum tam contrarie Cristo viventem esse immediatum vicarium eius a deo principaliter constitutum[8] et caput sancte matris ecclesie militantis. Hoc enim esset blasphemare in deum et credere, Cristum esse virum plus reprobum. Sed quid nocivius proditore regnorum, quam fidem, fundamentum virtutum, tam letanter destruere!

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[48] nominabilis *CDβ* nominalis *E* [49] fuit *CEβ* fuerit *D* [50] relinquit *CD* reliquit *E* rel|in|quit *(sic) β* [51] execucione *CDβ* execucionem *E* [52] n. p. *CDEβ* quam *E*[1] *in mar. with mark of ref. to* patris [53] existente *DEβ*,*C*[1] *in mar. blank space C* [54] sua *CDβ* vel sua *E* [55] vel *CDβ* vel sua oracio *(cr. out & ud.)* et *E* [56] plus *CDE om. β* [57] pr. po. *CEβ* po. pr. *D* [58] quasi *CDβ* quam *E*

CAP. IV. [1] cap. 4m *C in mar.* Cam IIII *D* 4 *E*[3] *om. β* [2] duplex *CD* dup[1] *(the* p *cr. out, therefore* dux) *β* dux *E* [3] pater *CDE om. β* [4] papa *CDβ* papas *E* [5] incolere *CEβ* in colore *D* [6] destructivum *CDβ* destructum *E* [7] alterum *CDE* alterutrum *β* [8] constitutum *DEβ* institutum (in *ud., above it* con) *C*

In cuius signum maior pars fratrum tenens cum Roberto Gebonensi[a] asserit fratribus nostris contrarium, et neuter illorum fundatur in evidencia vel scriptura, sed caute divisa membra dyaboli patenter indicant, quod referunt[9] ista fidelibus non propter fidem rutilantem in dictis, sed quia credunt per[10] hoc plus placere regnicolis. Unde probabiliter creditur, quod eorum altero[11] quoad seculum prevalente tenerent partem reliqui, quem[12] antea adeo detestati, et supra istam infidelitatem, quam cum aliis in regnis seminant, ipsi fratres in persona sua multipliciter regna depauperant et procurant, ut ad defensionem pape, quem[13] nominetenus appro-
C fol. 152a bant, || populus a pecunia et personis in pugna validis[14] spolietur. Et ista est prodicio satis sensibilis eciam politicis, qui plus attendunt bonorum sensibilium regni gravedinem, quam eciam ipsam fidem et cum hoc, ubi Iesus cepit facere et docere, istorum pseudofratrum subtraccio ab illo, quod fingunt se credere, movet regnicolis ab istis pseudofratribus discredendum.

Cum ergo membra dyaboli fidelibus viantibus onerosa debent sagaci prudencia exstirpari, patet ex facto multiplici horum fratrum, quomodo ipsis nolentibus a regno discedere ad hoc racionabiliter debent cogi. Nec valet[15] horum fratrum simialis argucia, qua probant, quod hoc factum istorum pseudopaparum sit licitum. Sic inquiunt: pugna fuit sepe exemplata propter causam consimilem in veteri testamento, quare ergo non in novo, cum neutra pars recognoscit superiorem, cuius iudicio foret racionabiliter standum? Aliquam ergo medelam[16] oportet ponere in ecclesia militante et non temptando deum singulariter suum auxilium expectare.

Ad tales multas merdosas[17] argucias, infideliter proclamatas, dicitur istis simiis, quod in veteri testamento non fuit licitum po-

CAP. IV. [a] *Cardinal-Bishop Robert of Cambray, Count of Geneva, by the name of Clement VII. Antipope to Urban VI.*

[9] referunt *CDβ* deferunt *E* [10] per *CE* in *Dβ* [11] altero *CE* altera *D* alter *β* [12] quem *Cβ* quam *DE* [13] quem *CDβ* quam *E* [14] in pu. va. *CDβ* va. in pu. *E* [15] valet *CDβ* videt *E* [16] medelam *CDβE* melodiam *E¹ in mar.* [17] merdosas *Dβ* mardosas *C* mendosas *E¹*, *but E¹ in mar.* mer

llo dei pugnare nisi contra infideles[18] et sic in causa dei contra rsonam vel populum leges[19] et swasiones[20] domini refutantem.

Unde si alter[21] istorum expugnari debeat, per locum a simili cto eorum supposito eciam uterque.[22] Non enim sequitur, si[23] oyses descendens de monte occiderit[24] multa milia Israelis propter mmissam ydolatriam, dicendo in fine Exodi 32[b]: hodie sancti- astis manus vestras, ergo per idem licet populo ex monitis unius torum, quem[25] reputant[26] esse membrum domini licet false, occi- re populum sibi contrarium, cum causa sit adeo[27] contraria,[28] andans vel consulens, adeo carens auctoritate divina, et causa ntum[29] a fide extranea. Ponant ergo fratres, alterum istorum esse ;um, et fidem ecclesie, quod debet credi in ipsum latria adoran- m, tunc per locum a sufficienti similitudine taliter[30] monerent[31] pulum. Ideo attenderent, si Cristus pro evitanda sua persecu- one pontificum legis veteris fuit[32] taliter machinatus, et tunc per cum a sufficienti similitudine possent pro tempore legis gracie ccedente pugna[33] in romanis pontificibus swadere. Sed non ca- tur efficax similitudo in rege nostro pacifico, nec causa pugne minis tanta subest.

Fuit enim fides, quod Cristus sit caput ecclesie ab hominibus dorandus, sed non est fides ecclesie, quod alter istorum sit mem- rum sponse Cristi, nec ex vita eorum est verisimilis coniectura. ristus enim legitur quoad humanitatem suam passus omnes iniu- ias, sed quoad divinitatem in tempore utriusque legis cum casti- acione racionabili populum moderasse, sed numquam in causa sue humanitatis se ipsum de hostibus vindicasse.

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[b] *v.* 29

[18] *in D is add. in mar.:* Non fuit licitum pugnare nisi in causa dei contra infideles *D*[1] [19] leges *Cβ* legis *ED* [20] suasiones *CDβ* suasionem *E, but above the* m *an* s *by E*[1] [21] alter *CDβ* aliter *E* [22] uterque *Dβ* utroque *CE* [23] si *CDβ* sed *E* [24] occiderit *CDE* occiderat *β* [25] *from here on in β a new hand differing a little from the former sets in, cp. cap. II note 21* [26] reputant *CE* reputat *Dβ* [27] s. a. *CDβ* a. s. *E* [28] cum ca. s. a. con. *CDEβ* *om. F* [29] causatantum *CDβ* causatum *(?) E* [30] taliter *CE* *om. Dβ* [31] monerent *CDβ* moneret *E* [32] fuit *CDE* fuerit *β* [33] pugna *CEβ* pugnam *D*

Unde quoad evidenciam captam, quod medicina sufficiens vindicandum istam iniuriam sit posita in ecclesia militanti,[34] concedi debet conclusio, cum episcopus animarum, dominus Iesus Cristus, semper astat ad interpellandum pro sua ecclesia militante, lex sua docet ex fide, quod vicarius suus specialiter debet execucionem talem dimittere et se esse indignum ad vicariam Cristi humiliter
|| *C fol. 152b* reputare. Et maius inconveniens, || quod sequitur[35] ex istis, foret quod ecclesia ad statum apostolicum, quem Cristus instituit sine pompa cleri[36] cesarea, rediret. Sed felix conclusio ista[37] sequens, sic uterque istorum cognosceret Iesum iudicem suum superiorem cuius iudicio stabit eciam[38] invitus,[39] sicut quilibet mundo potens.

Ideo idem esset in istam blasphemiam balbutire et negare fidem legis domini, vel quod Cristus Iesus deus et homo sit prelatis istis superior, quem oportet finaliter utrumque iudicare. Medicina ergo tacta superius[c] et populo intimanda foret utrique istorum ex vita sua et factis discedere atque fidem ponere in domino Iesu Cristo et neutri istorum in causa ista consentire opere vel consensu, cum Cristus precipit Matth. 24[d] vel in causa ista vel sibi simillima[40] pertinente: nolite credere nec abire. Et dictum istud Cristi excellit omnia dicta fratrum in ista materia assequenda.[41]

Sicut enim nullus fidelis viator debet se in pugna dyaboli commiscere, sic nec in pugna ista, nisi forte vitatur,[42] quod talis preeminencia dominativa a Cristi ecclesia destruatur. Ad hoc enim consulerem fideles quomodolibet[43] laborare, cum sit in scriptura fundabile et multas venenosas blasphemias[44] destrueret de ecclesia militante. Sed quia persecucio et horrenda occisio imminet sic dicenti, ideo cum oracione[45] humili disponamus nos ad martirium,[46]

[c] *cp. above p. 461* [d] *v. 23; 26*

[34] militanti *CE* militante *Dβ* [35] sequitur *CE* sequeretur *Dβ* [36] cleri *CDβ* tali *EF* [37] c. i. *CDβ* i. c. *E* [38] st. ec. *CDE* e. st. *β* [39] invitus *E* invictus *β* invitus *C, but between* vi *and* t *a* c, *above* us *an* a *is add. (therefore* invicta) invicta *D* [40] simillima *C* simili *E* similia *Dβ* [41] assequenda *CD* asserenda *Eβ* [42] vitatur *CEβ* vincatur *D* [43] quomodolibet *CDβ* quemlibet *E* [44] *in D is add. above the col.:* Leges novas plus appreciant quam leges Cristi *D¹* [45] oracione *CDβ* racione *E* [46] martirium *CDβ* matrimonium (? magisterium) *E*

emores celestium premiorum. Et sic evadetur dei temptacio recludetur fratrum preconisacio, quomodo sunt anticristi precones, ut Baptista fuit in vita et opere preco Cristi. Nec scio exsare populum a ceca ignorancia, qua in verbis et factis fraum taliter tenebratur. Et patet nuditas argucie simialis, qua ncluditur, quod deprimens papam suum sit tamquam proditor spendendus eo, quod falsarius monete, per quam quis cibum meret, sit propter corporalem prodicionem[47] racionabiliter occiendus.

Nam uterque istorum paparum nec ostendit in vita sua cesaris[e] nostri ymaginem, nec docet frater vicarius talis pape, quin foret expedicius militanti ecclesie carere tali papa cesareo conformiter legi Cristi. Et conformiter dicitur ad omnes argucias, per quas pseudofratres sciunt in ista materia populum informare. Nam probacio atque responsio est patens fidelibus, sed cordata affeccio rara,[48] invenibilis, eo quod multorum caritas refrigescit.[49]

Et conformiter tractari et declarari potest tota materia capitalis anticristi.

Ex istis patere potest, quomodo un*(o)*[50] istorum pseudopaparum exstingwente reliquum, qualiter obediri[51] debet superstiti secundum formam ewangelii prius[f] dictam.[52]

CAP. V.[1]

Sed quia non claret ex predictis de perfeccione ordinis sive[2] status, notandum est, quod quecunque signa sensibilia sunt impertinencia statui virtutum, nisi de quanto viatores[3] facilitant ad opera virtuosa.[4]

Cristus enim, qui non est acceptor personarum, indifferenter

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[e] *i. e. of Christ* [f] *cp. p. 465*

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[47] prodicionem *Cβ* perdicionem *ED* [48] rara *CDβ* raro *E* [49] refrigescit *CEβ* refrigescet *D* [50] *the codd. read* unus [51] obediri *CDβ* obedire *E* [52] dictam *C* datam *DE* dictam etc. *β*

CAP. V. [1] Cam 5m *C* V *E*[2] *om. Dβ* [2] sive *CDE* sui *β* [3] viatores *CDE* viatorem *β* [4] *in D is add. in mar.:* Notandum est quod quecunque — virtuosa *(as the text runs) D*[1]

dat graciam quoad locum, quoad signum sensibile et quoad ritu sed[5] oportet ex fide capere. Ideo omnes status vel ordines, qu patroni isti privati invenerant, nichil valent, nisi de quanto docet ex fide vel racione, quod ipsos facilitant ad opera virtuosa.

Tria autem sunt, ex quibus videtur, quod ritus fratrum ipsu ‖ O fol. 153a in bene agilibus difficultant.[7] Primum est, ‖ quod sine fundacio aggregant sibi globum in fratribus nec eciam ordine nec num mensuratum.[a] Ex hoc enim necessitantur ecclesie esse onero fratres inhabiles ad ordinem suum recipere et indebite a pau ribus mendicare. Ubi, queso, est maior blasphemia,[8] qu iuvenem indiscretum a suis parentibus spoliare et sibi regul ad sui interitum limitare? Non enim sciunt fratres, si co plexioni et carismati, que deus tribuit tali iuveni, convenit s cialis observancia, ad quam stringunt, cum uni conveniat u modus et alii alius, secundum quod deus limitat sibi a suis fi libus deserviri. Et si dicatur, quod cadit dispensacio prepo cum tali indisposito ad observanciam huius ritus, consideret fid practicam, quomodo oportet ad dispensacionem talem curiam manam sepe expetere[9] et habita[10] dispensacione communi[11] fr quantumcunque indigens non participabit illa nisi symoniace iocosis mendaciis vel mediis expresse illicitis.

Et hinc multi fratres propter talis ritus religanciam tam poraliter quam spiritualiter moriuntur. Unde nec Cristus vo nec suus apostolus ausus fuit regulam talem generalem signa cuicunque homini sui ordinis observandam, quia eo ipso, quo in talem ordinem inductus[13] fuerit et deus disposuit sibi tam n ralia quam gratuita, secundum que wlt sibi extra talem sta deserviri, talis ordo expresse blasphemat in deum, ac sic dei c

CAP. V. [a] *cp. Arnold, S. E. W I, 147; 296;* [b] *cp. ibid.*

[5] sed *CDβ* sicut *E* [6] ipsum *CDβ* ipsos *E* [7] *in D is add. in mar.:* fratrem difficultant *D¹* [8] m. b. *CDE* b. m. *β* [9] expetere *CDβ* repete [10] hab. *in E corr. in the mar. by the texthand* [11] communi *Cβ,E (here upon an erasure)* consequenti *D* [12] signare *CDβ* significare *E* [13] in tus *E* indutus *CDβ*

racionem ex cognicione[14] eterna divinitus regularet, sed que maior blasphemia?

Et breviter pensata racione legis domini de furto bovis eius vel[15] asini, quomodo debet fieri retribucio? Vel secundum leges gencium fur debet suspendi, secundum racionem patulam frater[16] sic furans puerum debet tantum vel amplius cruciari. Nec subest sibi fugiendi racio, nisi quia[17] lucrifaciat[18] spiritualiter puero et sic patri pueri vel tutori, sed cum non doceat, quod sic fingit plus quam furans bovem,[19] docet, quod exhonerat[20] et proficit possessori nec sic vel potest fide iussorem invenire, qui illud[21] spirituale lucrum patri vel puero testaretur, videtur secundum legem dei et racionem, quod talis fratrifactor[22] ex hoc racionabiliter punietur.

Si ergo talis phariseus seducens puerum facit eum occasionaliter filium gehenne modo, quo Cristus docet Matth. 23,[c] quanto magis debet puniri acrius ex sua presumpcione blasphema, cum ultra bovem vel asinum perdidit tam corpus quam animam fratris sui? Talis ergo blasphemus secundum legem veterem debet a toto populo lapidari.

Secundus ritus sensibilis, ad quem religiosi privati ex suo ordine obligantur, est tradicionum[23] suarum observancia[24] eciam ultra mandata decalogi vel consilia[25] domini Iesu Cristi. Et tradicio ista necessitat ipsos ypocritas infringere mandatum domini.[d] Nam quidquid in tradicionibus suis de novo instituunt, est[26] propter apparenciam religionis super alios, et cum signa ista sensibilia infiant sanctitatem, patet, quod ut sic sunt ypocrite.

Quid enim, rogo, facit habitus corporalis, claustrum sensibile vel quecunque alia tradicio a fratribus adinventa? Revera nichil facit ad sanctitatem eorum, sed est ypocrisis sue manifestum iudi-

[c] *v. 15* [d] *cp. Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 344*

[14] cognicione *CDβ* cogitacione *E* [15] vel *CDβ* ac *E* [16] frater *CEβ* fur *D* [17] quia *CDβ* qui *E* [18] lucrifaciat *CE* lucrifacit *Dβ* [19] f. b. *CDβ* b. f. *E* [20] exonerat *CDβ* exhonerat (h *ud.*) *E* [21] illud *CE* istud *Dβ* [22] fratrifactor *CDβ* fratrifactor (factor *ud.*) *E, in mar. is add.* fur *E*[1] [23] tradicionum *CDβ* transdicionum *E* [24] *in D is add. in mar..:* Secundus *D*[1] *in β mar.:* Tradiciones religiosorum *β*[1] [25] consilia *CE* consimilia *Dβ* [26] est *β* et *E*

cium. Cum enim tam virtuose et tam edificatorie posset[27] vin
sine tali signo sensibili, ipsum nichil facit, si non ypocritice ostem
‖ C fol. 153b illusis sensibilibus,[28] ‖ quod sicut signa ista habent propria, sic l
bent singulariter et excellenter propriam sanctitatem; quod c
sit falsum, patet ypocrisis.

Cum enim ypocrisis sit falsa simulacio sanctitatis,[29 e] pat
quod tota fratrum religio in[30] falsa simulacione huiusmodi es
fundata. Unde inter alia peccata videtur michi, quod ypocri
est magis contraria domino Iesu Cristo. Nam directe opponi
veritati, que deus est, patule[32] docet artem mendacii, innititu
pervertendo ordinem divinum[34] ipsi illudere et ecclesiam per
phismata dyaboli defraudare.

Cum enim deus magis appreciatur sanctitatem in homi
patet, quod falsa eius simulacio tamquam magis sibi odibilis ma
opponitur veritati, et cum false fingunt, se habere bonitatem 1
ralem, a qua deficit, patet, quod toto studio dogmatizat art
mendacii.

Et quantum ad tercium[35] patet, quod ordo divinus exi
quod sanctitas ab insensibili ad sensibile ordinatur, cum a (
insensibili primo,[36] originatur[37] sanctitas in animum viatoris et
ipso erumpat ad[38] opera sensibilia atque signa. Ypocrisis au
omnino pervertit ordinem hunc; ideo quantum in se est, nit
fraudare dominum[39] veritatis et sic[40] ecclesiam Cristi, quoad se
bilia necessitatur attendere, defraudat multipliciter et cautelas
nenosas dyaboli introducit.

Unde quidam philosophi vocant sophistam ypocritam dyal
Sophista enim ex loquacitatis apparencia cupit apparere esse sap
sine sapiencie existencia. Unde mussitant sophistice super ista

[e] *cp. Trial.* 432

[27] posset *CDβ* potest *E* [28] *in C above fol. 153b is add.:* Nota de ypocri [29] *in β is add. in mar.:* Ypocrisis quid *β¹* [30] in *CDβ* est in *E* [31] est *om. E* [32] est pat. *CDβ* est est *(the latter cr. out & ud.)* pat. *E* [33] inn *CDβ* innitur *E* [34] divinum *CDEβ* dominium *C¹ in mar.* [35] *in D is ad mar.:* Tercia *D¹* [36] primo *CDβ* primum *E* [37] originatur *CDβ* ordinat [38] ad *CDEβ* in *E¹ in mar.* [39] dominum *CDβ* domini *(? dominium) E* ' *CDE om. β*

[de]scripcione, quod descriptive sophista sit ille,[41] qui apparet esse [ta]lis, qualis non est, et cum hoc ponatur, quod sortes[42] appareat [esse] sophista, tunc sophiste mussitant, si sortes[43] in casu isto[44] [s]it sophista vel non; si sic,[45] cum appareat esse sophista, tunc est talis, qualis apparet, et iuxta descripcionem non ut sic est sophista, si[46] in casu isto non sit sophista et apparet[47] esse sophista, tunc apparet[48] esse, qualis[49] non est et iuxta descripcionem quilibet huiusmodi est sophista, ergo est sophista.

Sed quomodocunque sit de istis arguciis, certum est, quod ypocrita, in quantum huiusmodi intricat se ipsum per illusionem dyaboli quoad deum, quia secundum Chrysostomum[50][f] melius est esse sanctum quam apparere sanctum, sicut peius est esse reprobum, quam apparere esse[51] reprobum, cum apparencia in primo potest inesse homini vicioso[52] eo, quod dyabolus transfigurat se in angelum lucis, et apparencia in secundo ponit illusionem iudicii de sancto homine reputari. Ypocrita ergo tamquam stultissimus[53] sophista dyaboli appetit minus bonum vel eciam maius malum, et sic postponit bonum valde eligibile propter malum. Nec mirum, quia dyabolus auctor false apparencie[54] seducit suum iudicium, cum veritatis existencia sit fugata. Ideo dicit Chrysostomus: aut esto, quod appares, aut appare,[55] quod es.

Unde inter omnia peccata, que deus umquam permisit esse in ecclesia militante, peccatum ypocricis est magis fugibile,[56][g] et in diebus novissimis secundum apostolum plus illusivum[57] ecclesie, unde originatur in stabulo falsitatis. Ideo signanter adiungit[58]

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[f] *I have not been able to verify this quotation, as the reference to St. Chrysostom is too general* [g] *cp. Trial. 432: duplex iniquitas*

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[41] *in β is add. in mar.:* Sophista quis β[1] [42] sortes *CD* sor *E* soror *(?) β* sortes *C,β (clearly so)* sor *E* sor. *(sic) D* [44] c. i. *CEβ* i. c. *D* [45] sic *DE* sit *β* [46] si *CE* ut *Dβ* [47] et iuxta descr. — apparet *CDEβ,F*[1] *in mar. om. F* [48] apparet *CDE in β an illegible abbreviation* [49] qualis *CDEβ, in E is add. in mar.* talis *E*[1] [50] *in D is add. in mar.:* Chrysostomus *D*[1] [51] esse *CDβ om. E* [52] vicioso *DEβ* virtuoso *C* [53] stult. *CDE* subtilissimus *(underlined) stult. β* [54] apparencie *Dβ* apparencia *CE in C in mar.:* Nota [55] *all the Cod. read* apparere [56] *in D in mar.:* Peccatum ypocrisis magis fugibile *D*[1] [57] illusivum *CDE* illusum *β* [58] adiungit *CEβ* adiunxit *D*

apostolus,[h] quod periculum et in falsis fratribus, cum notori sit, si habitus corporalis fratris vel ritus aliquis[59] sensibilis ordinis menciatur, mendax est et gerens illum ‖ habitum ac eccle per suas adinventas[60] fallacias seductivus. Nec prodest sua adinve religio, sed tam ipsis religiosis quam ecclesiis multum obest,[61] cu omnia bona virtutis, que faciunt, facere possunt[62] liberius ac m ritorius secundum religionem simplicem cristianam et in studi discendi hunc[63] ordinem, in studio servandi et in studio sustinend consistit occupacio inutilis et infructuosa et toti ecclesie tediosa.

C fol. 154a

Quis ergo excusare posset has sectas, quin dimisso Cristi ordin blaspheme eligant minus bonum? Ymo toti prospecto[64] diligencia videri posset studenti, quod tota sua religio blasphemia sit permixta.[i]

Unde inter omnia monstra,[65] que umquam intrarunt eccle siam, monstrum horum fratrum est seductivius, infundabilius a veritate ac caritate distancius.[k] Modicum quidem esset, quod interiora sui corporis locata forent extrinsecus et e contra. Sed si sint[66] oves extrinsecus quoad apparenciam, lupi intrinsecus quoad existenciam, et serpentes in opere quoad intoxicacionem ecclesie ubi est periculosius monstrum mundi?[67] Unde Matth. 7[l] dicit Cristus: attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vesti mentis ovium, intrinsecus[68] autem sunt lupi rapaces a. f. n. e. c. e.[69] Ubi probari[70] videtur[71] ex sapiencia Cristi volentis munire[72] suam ecclesiam et ex practica fratrum fallacia,[73] quod[74] premunit suam ecclesiam, ut caveat de periculosa fratrum versucia, que postmodum in sua ecclesia est futura.

Omnes enim illi sunt falsi prophete in vestimentis ovium fide

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[h] *cp. II Cor. 11, 26* [i] *this is one of the heretical passages, cf Wilkins, Conc. III, 344* [k] *cp. ibidem* [l] *v. 15*

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[59] aliquis *CDβ* alius *E* [60] adin. *CDβ* novas *(cr. out & ud.)* adin. [61] obest *CDE* prodest *(cr. out) β, above it* obest *β*[1] [62] possunt *CDβ* possent [63] hunc *EF* habent *(?) CDβ* [64] prospecto *CE* perspecto *Dβ* [65] *in D is ac in mar.:* Monstrum *D*[3] [66] sint *DEβ,C*[1] *in mar.* sunt *(ud.) C* [67] mundi *C* mundo *E* [68] intrinsecus *CEβ* intus *D* [69] a. f. n. e. c. e *(sic) C* a. fra bus enim eorum co. e. *(sic) E* [70] probari *CDβ* probabiliter *E* [71] videt *CDE* pidetur *β* [72] munire *CDE* nimire *β* [73] fallacia *CDβ* fallaci *E* [74] qu *CDE* que *β* [75] caveat *DEβ* cavet *C*

bus sedule venientes. Non enim manent fixi in heremo vel in laustro, sed attente visitant fideles, quos divites reputant quoad mundum et in suo habitu falsissime simulant sanctitatem, ac si forent oves immaculate et in vita ac opere innocentes. Et hoc secundum institucionem eorum colorum et forma sui habitus cum figura. Dilatant enim filateria et magnificant fimbrias[76] suas,[77] cum inquiunt, totus habitus exterior et interior cum cunctis suis circumstanciis dicit eis sanctam observanciam mandatorum et ultra, quam pharisei legis veteris, dilatant et magnificant libros suos istos[78] ex sua stulticia adinventos. Unde preter onerosum abusum, quem habent in consumpcione amplitudinis suarum[79] vestium blasphemant ad spiritualem sensum tunc remuneracionem novissimam, que in fine vite sue per commenta mendacii est pictata. Et sunt lupi rapaces[80] in querendo temporalia egenorum et cum quibuscunque communicant, ipsos tamquam serpentes intoxicant in opere cum heresi vel fallacia falsitatis.

CAP. VI.[1]

Tercia autem condicio, qua fratres blaspheme magnificant statum suum, stat in sua obediencia prelato suo, quem eligunt, ut Priori, Provinciali, Generali vel quomodocunque[2] aliter voluerint nominare. Tantam autem virtutem ponunt in hac obediencia, quod, quidquid ipse mandat, ut faciant, virtute istius obediencie cedet ad meritum facientis,[3] ut, si ipse mandaverit, dimisso sancte[4] predicacionis officio, fenum colligere, egenos et pauperes per cautelas suas sophisticas spoliare vel contra regulam propriam in vescibilibus, habitacionibus aut quibuscunque usibilibus[5] limitate[6] quamcunque excedere, hoc est licitum et meritorium virtute istius obediencie, cum prelato

[76] *in D is add. above the col.:* Dilatant enim *etc.* — fimbrias *(as the text runs) D*[1] [77] suas *CE* *om. Dβ* [78] istos *DEβ* ex *(ud.)* istos *C* [79] suarum *D* suorum *CEβ* [80] *in D is add. above the col.:* Lupi rapaces *D*[1]

CAP. VI. [1] 6m *C,E*[2] *in mar.* ccc *(?) β* *om. D* [2] quomodocunque *CDβ* quocunque *E* [3] facientis *Cβ* facitis *E* facilitatis *D* [4] sancte *CDβ* sancto *E* [5] usibilibus *in β corr. from* visibilibus [6] limitate *CFβ,E (!)* usitata limitate *D*

suo in isto obediens eo, quod bene potest fieri,[7] debet ultra pr varicacionem decalogi cruciari.

|| C fol. 154b Talia sunt multa porismata || scole dyaboli, per que sedu has mendosas sectas noviter introductas.

De obediencia[8] autem dictum est diffuse alibi,[a] quod nich valet, nisi de quanto docet vel excitat ad obedienciam domino Iesu Cristo.[10 b] Sed cum sepe ab ista obediencia dictus ordo stult distrahit, auffugi debet a fidelibus ut venenum. Ubi, queso, e magis blasphema stulticia, quam cuicunque prelato[11] subici, qua tumcunque stultus aut viciosus fuerit et eleccione dampnabili pre positus[12] sanctis et sciolis, qui secundum doctrinam et libertatem[1] episcopi animarum posset secundum fidem sue regule deo et su ecclesie deservire. Ubi, queso, est maior blasphemia, quam e eleccione universali[14] sepe dampnabili credere vel supponere, quo prelatus talis in mandato[15] equivaleat vel supra dominum Iesum Cristum.

Fingunt enim, sed false, isti ypocrite, quod deus decipere posset humanitus fidelem populum, quem gubernat, sicut videtu dominum Armenium[c] dicere tollendo argumentum, quo[16] ex dictis Cristi[17 d] videtur[18] concludi, quod cuncta, que evenient, necessario

CAP. VI. [a] *cp. De Ordine christiano, cp. 5: ulterius videndum est breviter, quomodo secundum religionem cristianam fidelis debet tali preposito obedire. Et premissa distinccione de obediencia videtur, quod nullus cristianus debet obedire tali preposito nisi obediencia resisti- tiva etc. in cod. 4527 (Vienna) fol. 123b. With ref. to this, cp. Arnold, S. E. W. I, 82: Men may undirstonden amys þis obedience to Crist etc., also ibid. 85* [b] *And herfore shulde we trowe þat ech obedience t man is as myche worþ as it techiþ obedience to God etc., Arnold ibid. 8* [c] *thus the codd.; I believe, from* dominus *that Richard Fitzralph (Ar macanus) is meant here* [d] *cp. Matth. 24, 6 ff.*

[7] frater *CDEβ* fieri *F (a corr. word)* [8] *in C is add. with ref. to th above the col.:* Cui sit obediendum [9] domino *CDβ om. E* [10] Cristo *CD* Cristi *E* [11] prel. *CDβ* stultus *(ud.)* prel. *E* [12] prepositus *CDβ* propositu *(cr. out.) E, but there is no marginal correction corresponding to it* [13] d. et l. *CD* l. et d. *β* [14] quam ex eleccione universali *(the two last words on an er sure) E* quamquam ex cumulacione tali *CDβ* quamquam exclamacione unive sali *F* [15] mandato *CE* manifesto *D,(?)β* [16] quo *Dβ* que *CE* [17] Cris *CEβ om. D* [18] dominum Armen. *etc.* — videtur *CDEβ om. F*

sunt futura. Cum ergo, ut false[19] fingunt, precepcio talis prelati, qualitercunque viciose electus fuerit, debet regulariter[20] observari, patet, quod ipsum preponunt blaspheme[21] domino Iesu Cristo, et in hoc est heresis ista[22] stulcior,[23] quod ipsum sepe vident in persona propria se ipsum ducere per devium viciorum. Quomodo ergo talis cecus, si ceco ducatum prestet, nonne ambo in foveam cadunt?[e]

Similiter cum tale indifferens vel irracionabilitatem sapiens posset esse tam meritorium ex mandato prepositi, sicut est mandatum domini Iesu Cristi, et Cristus nichil potest precipere, nisi prius naturaliter, antequam ipsum precipiat, sit consonum racioni, videtur, quod prelatum suum tam infundabiliter et viciose electum blaspheme magnificant supra dominum Iesum Cristum.

Similiter secundum fidem mandati[24] Cristi generaliter utilius homini debet[25] preponi, sed talis electus prelatus virtute sue obediencie, ut inquiunt, sepe interimit hoc mandatum, ergo sibi[26] iuxta suam stulticiam obedire debent, ultra quam debent obedire episcopo animarum.

Si enim virtute talis private obediencie non debent prelato suo[27] nisi in precepto domini obedire, et tantum debuerunt ante professionem privatam, videtur, quod ex professione huius vane religionis non obligantur amplius quam per ante. Sed constat[28] in facto oppositum,[29] cum subiectus tali prelatò regulatur per ipsum quoad locum et tempus, quoad vescibilia et usibilia et breviter quoad omnia accidentalia vite sue. — Nec dubium, quin talis prepositus in mandatis suis sepe contrariatur monitis dei sui, ut ubi homines[30] debent esse invicem[31] subiecti et quantumcunque sufficiunt, magis prodesse ecclesie, prelatus talis limitat, quod obe-

[e] *cp. the very same idea in De Relig. van. Mon., above p. 440*

[19] false *CDEβ, E, but with mark of ref. to* false *in mar.* tales fingunt *E¹* [20] regulariter *CDβ* realiter *E* [21] blaspheme *DEβ* blasphemo *C* [22] ista *CDE om. β* [23] stulcior *DEβ* stulticior *C* [24] mandati *Cβ* mandata *DE* [25] debet *CDβ* debent *E* [26] sibi *DEβ,C¹ in mar.* si *(?) C* [27] suo *CDβ om. E* [28] constat *DEβ* asstat *C* [29] oppositum *E,F¹ in mar.* oi *(sic) C (blank space), in mar. is add.* a^m (assumptum) *C¹* omnium *Dβ* alium *(cr. out) F* [30] homines *CDβ* homies *E (compend. om.)* [31] invicem *F,E, in mar. is add.* simul *E¹* in vitis *CDβ*

diencia sibi singulariter reservetur et ne a dignitate sua degene
quod non obediat suo subdito, sicut precepit[33] sanctus Petrus,[f]
sepius unus prelatorum precipit suo subdito, ut unum faci
alius prelatorum superior aut[34] inferior precipit eidem subiect
omnino faciat preceptum ab altero prelatorum sic, quod tales
lati nedum sunt Cristo contrarii, sed eciam sibi ipsis sic,
tales taliter stulte subiecti prepositis dicere possent hoc metrici

Dixit buffo crati: maledicti tot dominati!

|| *C fol. 155a* || Non enim maius dominium vendicat secularis dominu
eciam dyabolus super suum subditum, quam vendicat talis el
prepositus super suos subditos,[36] super quibus secundum lege
minum habere dicitur prelaciam.

Tales enim leges private sicut leges terrene sunt diligen
quam mandata decalogi observate. Ideo cum homo sit tam
capacitatis ac observancie, patet, quod tales private obedi
distrahunt ab obediencia facienda domino Iesu Cristo. Ymo
ex fide scripture et regulis[38] consciencie cum practica,
tales religiosi communiter sunt perplexi. Nam ex fide non
subditus obedire alicui tali prelato, nisi de quanto Cristus
et principalis[39] illud mandat, sed subditus sepe debet hab
scrupulum consciencie vel evidenciam in contrarium, quod do
sic mandat, ergo debet sepe habere conscienciam mandatum
prepositi adimplendi. Et super isto morsu consciencie multi
gwent, nec est possibile nobis narrare[41] blasphemias cunctas,
sunt per tales fictas obediencias introducte.

Nec dubium, quin non solum redundant[42] ad onus et dam
religionis talis private, sed ad dampnum tocius militantis ec
Et patet studiose veritas[43] istius principii, quod bene foret

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[f] *cp. I Pet. 5, 3; also I Cor. 3, 5*

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[32] degeneret *CEβ* digneret *(!* degneret) *D* [33] precepit *CE* preci
[34] aut *CDβ,E, but in mar. is add.* eo *E*[1] [35] *in CD is add. in mar.:* W' (
β: vero *(texthand)* [36] subditos *CEβ* subiectos *D* [37] diligencius *CDβ*
cius *E (compendium om.)* [38] regulis *DEβ,C and C*[1] *in mar.* [39] prin
CDE principalius *β* [40] habere *CDβ,E*[1] *close below the line (the colum
with* debet) *om. E* [41] narrare *CDE* variare *β* [42] redundant *C* rec
DEβ [43] st. v. *CDβ* v. st. *E*

tanti ecclesie, si pure observaret sine talibus fictis tradicionibus legem Cristi. Nam quidquid superadditur vel ab ista subtrahitur est peccatum.

Et intelligendo superaddicionem sentencie tamquam legis, ut leges novelle sunt tantum vel plus appreciate, quam lex dei eterna, ut patet de studio de profectu vel premio, quod[44] hic accipimus propter illam, et nichil infidelius et magis hereticum, cum lex legiferi[45] et ipse legifer[g] debent eque laute diligi. Et sic contra primum mandatum decalogi cultores tradicionis[46] humane diligunt[47] legem suam et eius legiferum plus quam deum.

Si ergo sit peccatum dampnabile, habere pondus (et pondus) vel aliam mensuram duplicem pro proximo in temporalibus defraudando, quanto magis peccatum est gravius iniuriari deo in volucione animi magis diligibile postponendo? Et ad istam fraudem religiosi isti novelli sunt insolubiliter implicati, quia, ut dicit sua obligacio et wlgaris[48] eleccio, plus obligantur suo ordini quam religioni simplici cristiane; et lex dei dicit oppositum. Ideo necessitati sunt vel fraudem facere deo vel ordini suo vel ipsum tamquam venenosum contempnere.

Ideo cum magnam vim habet simplex[49] cristiana religio, videtur multis probabile, quod quilibet de religione ista privata et specialiter prelatus vel eius prepositus principalis debet ipsam contempnere et quantum sufficit eius observanciam destruere. Nam illud[50] implicat humana religio, cui plus quam isto privato ordini singulari[51] obligantur. Nam cum ista privata religio quodammodo diminuit accidencia et observanciam[52] religionis simplicis cristiane, ipsa debet[53] tamquam preponderans cum qualibet parte sua[54] atque cremento plus diligi. Patet conclusio.

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[g] *i. e. Christ, cp.* *De Vaticinatione, cod. Prag. II. G. 11. fol.* 224[b]

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[44] qu. *CDβ* eterno *(cr. out)* qu. *E* [45] legiferi *E* legifer *CDβ* [46] tradicionis *CEβ* tradiciones *D* [47] hum. dil. *CDEβ* humane diligenter cultores trad. hum. diligunt *F* [48] wlgaris *CDβ* wlgaris *E, altered into* wlgaica *E*[1] wlgata *F* [49] simplex *CDE om. β* [50] illud *CDE* id *β* [51] singulari *CDE* singuli *Fβ* [52] observanciam *β* observancia *CDE* [53] debet *in β in mar. by the texthand* [54] sua *CDβ om. EF*

Unde si per impossibile forem prelatus privati ordinis, ut ver gracia Prior ordinis mendicancium generalis, implicarem prudent aut tacite, quod quicunque subiectus ordinem illum dimitteret purum ordinem Cristi acciperet,[55] cum hoc foret deo honorifice cius, subiecto meo utilius et ecclesie undique bonum maius. Qu modo ergo forem excusabilis dogmatizando oppositum, ut si p fol. 155b valde contingens cognoscerem multos esse ‖ hereticos in[56] secta me privata et ex conglobacione[57] mutua sese inficere, quomodo fore sequax Cristi aut implens, ut debeo,[58] legem suam, nisi facerem vel niterer,[59] quod[60] tales ab invicem separantur.

Paulus enim precipit ad Tit. ult.[h]: hereticum hominem po primam et secundam correpcionem devita, et Cristus precipi Matth. 18[61 i]: si peccaverit in te frater tuus post trinam correpcionem,[62] quam ostendit, quod sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.

Nec valent excusaciones istorum ordinum hodie adinvente nis ad aggravandum eis peccatum altrinsecus in suo crimine. Dicun enim infundabiliter et contrarie legi Christi, quod talis apostata[63] debe in carcerem tetrum recludi[64] et[65] usque ad mortem, ne ordo scandalizaretur,[66] varie cruciari.[67] Certum est autem, quod libra stulte affeccionis errat notabiliter in hac parte.[68] Nam propter talem animam, quam cruciant, redimendam Cristus passus est mortem, e isti plus ponderant tradicionem suam frivolam quam animam ipsam, quam a sibi probabili[69] deus predestinaverit[70] ad gloriam ymo[71] multi dampnabuntur,[72] ut probabiliter creditur ex ductu pe

[h] *cap. 3, 10* [i] *v. 15 ff.*

[55] *in D is add. above the col.:* Postponere privatam legem et purum or nem Cristi accipere D^2 [56] in $CD\beta$ ei *(cr. out)* in *E* [57] conglobacione *C*l globacione *E* [58] debeo $CD\beta$ deo *E (compendium om.)* [59] niterer *is written on an erasure* [60] quod $CD\beta, E^1$ *corr. into the text om. E* [61] 18 *E*l 28 *C, but* 2 *ud., above it* 1 [62] correpcionem $CD\beta$ correccionem *E* [63] apostata *CDE* aposttota β [64] *in D is add. below the col.:* Incarcerant prop suas tradiciones usque ad mortem D^2 [65] et $CD\beta$ et *(cr. out & ud.)* [66] scand. *in* β *a correction has taken place* [67] cruciari $CD\beta$ cruciandus *E* [68] *in* β *is add. in mar.:* Incarceracio religiosorum est erronea β^1 [69] probabili $CD\beta$ probali *E (compend. om.)* [70] predestinavit *CD, E (!)* predestina β [71] ymo $CD\beta$ ut *E* [72] dampnabuntur $E\beta$ dampnabunt *CDF*

tradiciones istas frivolas, incarceraciones et penas alias, qui libere viventes in seculo sub suavi iugo domini salvarentur.

Que ergo presumpcio, sine[73] summa auctoritate vel racione sic incarcerare fratres et a libertate legis domini impedire, cum dominus dicat per prophetam Iesa. 58[74k]: dissolve colligaciones impietatis, solve fasciculos deprimentes, dimitte eos, qui confracti sunt, liberos et omne onus disrumpe? Ubi videtur primo tales privatos ordines precipiendo dissolvere[l]; si enim secundum prophetam Ezech. 16[m] peccatum Sodome quadruplex fuit iniquitas, quanto patencius[75] aggregacio ex suis tradicionibus ac privilegiis est colligacio iniquitatis seu[76] impietatis. Et si ceremonie legis veteris propter suam gravedinem et multitudinem[77] cessari[78] debuerant in lege gracie, quanto magis tradiciones hominum[79] infundabiliter ficte et ultra cerimonias legis veteris multiplicate isto tempore legis gracie debent solvi?[80o] Licet enim sint fasciculi comburendi, cum propter suam multitudinem et stultam observanciam premunt multos et usi *(?)* nec[81] multi ex cecitate tradicionis frivole sunt confracti,[82] debent abire liberi per[83] dei graciam sic salvati,[84] sed nunc dampnabiliter in carcere sunt inclusi et breviter, quecunque observancia humana resistens spiritui sancto, que est duccio dei spiritu, onerosa debet[85] disrumpi.[86]

Unde isti privati ordines communiter resistunt spiritui sancto et per consequens sibi ipsis et unum peccatum videtur ordinibus istis esse proprium,[87] quod si quis secundum regulas caritatis nititur ordinibus istis consulere, vel ad puram legem dei[88] secundum suum

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[k] *v. 6* [l] *this is one of the heretical sentences, cp. Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 344* [m] *v. 46 ff.*

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[73] sine *E* cum *CDβ* [74] 58 *CDβ* 54 *E* [75] patencius *CDE* potencius *β* [76] iniquitatis seu *E* *om. CDFβ* [77] et multitudinem *C(?) F* et multiplicitatem *Eβ* multiplicem *D* [78] cessari *CDβ* cessare *E* [79] *in D is add. in mar.:* Cerimonie cessari debuerunt, quam magis tradiciones hominum *D¹* [80] solvi *CDβ* dissolvi *E* [81] nec *CDE* nunc *Fβ* [82] confracti *DEβ* confracte (e *ud., above it* i) *C* [83] per *CDEβ, in E is add. in mar.* et *E¹* [84] salvati *CDβ* salvari *E* [85] debet *CDβ* debent *E* [86] dirumpi *CEβ* rumpi *D* [87] e. p. *CDE* p. e. *β* [88] l. d. *C* d. l. *Dβ* dei purum *(cr. out)* d. l. *E*

ordinem inclinare,[89] reputant illum esse hereticum legi domini repugnantem. Cum tamen ipsi debeant[90] iuvare ad finem istum et tollendo tradiciones istas frivolas ab antiqua malicia se purgare. Et super isto peccato dyaboli dominus non quiescit.

Certum quidem est, quod stantes in istis ordinibus, licet videantur[91] facere multa bona de genere et populo esse sancti, tamen consenciunt iniquitati istorum ordinum sex modis famosis,[n] et sic perturbant ecclesiam militantem, et ista iniquitas per ypocrisim est celata.

Si ergo in presencia solis iusticie[o] Scarioth traxit[92] aliquos ad consensum, quod ungenti preciosi effusio super caput domino fuit per-
C fol. 156a dicio, — ut patet Matth. 26[p]: aliqui, || inquit ewangelium,[93] dicebant ut[94] quid perdicio ista,[95] ubi patet, quod contaminabilis avaricia Scarioth duxit alios ad consensum, — quanto magis in istis ordinibus, ubi persone, que videntur esse bone, sunt magis fragiles dei gracia plus ab istis conventibus elongata[96] et dyaboli cautele plus quam Scarioth seminate? Sicut ergo prophete habuerant penam[97] multiplicem, quia tacuerant[98] ad defensionem legis domini dicere veritatem, in qua causa occisi sunt apostoli, quanto magis stantes in istis ordinibus debent propter amorem legis domini et fratrum suorum constanter eis dicere veritatem!

Sicut enim Cristus, quos amat, arguit et castigat, sic conversans cum fratribus dicet[99] eis constanter, sed cum moderamine, legem Cristi.

[n] *the sex 'modi famosi consentiendi' are frequently referred to by W. in his Polemical Tracts, cp. for instance above p. 440 cod. 4527 fol. 145[b] De Relig. van. Mon.:* Nota 6 species consensus:
Consentit cooperans, defendens, consilium dans
Ac auctorizans, non iuvans, nec reprehendens.
[o] *i. e. of Christ* [p] *v. 8*

[89] incl. *corr. in β* [90] debeant *CDβ* *om. E, but in mar. is add.* debent *E¹* [91] videantur *CDβ* videant *E* [92] traxit *CDβ* trahit *E* [93] ew. *CDβ* est *(cr. out)* ew. *E* [94] *all the codd. read* ut *(not* ad) [95] ista *CEβ* ista etc. *D* [96] elongata *DEβ* elongate *C, above the end*-e *an* a [97] penam *CDβ* pennam *E, in mar. is add.* penam *(!* ponna, pena) *E¹* [98] tacuerant *CDβ* tacuerunt *E* [99] dicet *CDE* diceret *β*

Et maius inconveniens, ex hoc sequens,[100] foret solucio istorum dinum privatorum et[101] resolucio in simplicem ordinem et servi- ım cristianum. Sed felix conclusio, nec tardatur eius complecio, si propter desidiam[102] fidelis populi exequentis.

Si enim constanter peteretur a fratribus auctoritativa eorum troduccio, quomodo[103] licuit, sine auctoritate[104] Cristi ipsos sic avare ecclesiam?

Secundo si a populo[105] perseveranter continuaretur[106] fratrum rrepcio, quomodo in eorum vita et verbis est continue[107] a statu ostolico, ymo a regula propria, secundum quam introducti sunt, screpacio?

Et tercio, si fideliter iuxta fidem ewangelii negetur istis fra- bus propter multiplicem heresim communicacio, — si, inquam, a tria forent ab ecclesia fideliter executa, foret ab istis lupis pacibus liberata.

Unde quesivit[108] quidam fidelis[109] a fratribus, quid tardant[110] ista provincia, cum dogmatizant, quod quicunque fidelis, frater, alius laboraverit[111] fideliter ad destruendum Robertum Gilbo- ısem,[q] sit absque dubio beatifice premiandus.

[q] *i. e. Urbans' VI. Anti-Pope, Clemens VII., Robert Earl of Geneve and Cardinal Bishop of Cambray. He was chosen by the opponents of Urban, the French Bishops, the 20th Septbr. 1378 at Fondi in the Kingdom of Naples. The Cardinals who were dissatisfied with the choice of Urban VI. and his first acts, had declared his election invalid as it had been forced upon them through terrorism, exercised by the inhabitants of Rome. They insisted on his resigning his assumed dignity. In consequence of Urban's refusal, which was expressed in a contemptuous and violent letter to the Cardinals, Robert of Cambray was elected. Car Robert Cardinal de Genéve, ayant eû toutes les voix des Ultramontains qui s'estoient réûnis fut élû Pape le vingtiéme du mesme mois, adoré, selon la coustume, aprés avoir pris le nom de*

[100] sequens *CDE* se ipsis *β* [101] et *in E corr. into the text by E¹* *om. Eβ* [102] desidiam *in E corr. from* desideriam [103] quomodo *CDβ* quam *E* sine auct. *CEβ* *om. D* [105] a populo *Dβ* apostolo *E C (?)* [106] conti- retur *E* continetur *CDβ* [107] continue *E* *om. CDβ* [108] quesivit *CDβ* runt *E* [109] fidelis *CDβ* fideles *E¹* q. quid. fid. *in E add. later, I believe, an erasure* [110] tardant *CDβ* tardat *E* [111] laboraverit *Cβ* laboravit *ED*

Cum ergo facta eorum verbis suis plus doceant, patet ex suis exhortacionibus, quod vel sunt infideles suam beatitudinem postponentes vel falsum ut fidem populo predicantes.[112]

Excitilp.[113]

Clement VII. et couronné ensuite devant la grande Eglise de Fondi, avec toutes les cerémonies accoustumées, en presence du Duc Othon de Brunswik, Prince de Tarente, des Ambassadeurs de la Reine Jeanne, et de la pluspart des Grands du Royaume, L. Maimbourg, Histoire du Grand Schisme d'Occident („Dernière Edition") I. tom. p. 61. Cp. also Th. a Niem, Hist. s. temp. libr. IV, Argentorati 1609, p. 12 ff., also Creighton, History of the Papacy, London 1882, I. vol. p. 64 ff.

[112] predicantes *C* predicantes etc. *Eβ* predicantes etc. Sequitur alter *D*
[113] *i. e.* Explicit Explicit tractatus de perfeccione statuum Incipit tractatus de quatuor sectis novellis *E (E²)* Explicit de perfeccione statuum *F* *without Explicit Dβ*

XIX.

DE RELIGIONE PRIVATA.

TRACTATUS PRIOR.

DE RELIGIONE PRIVATA I.

I. Division.

Part I: Refutation of a general scholastic thesis (in ten Arguments).

Part. II: Refutation of the particular thesis of a Monk (in eight Arguments).

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *Scholastic refutation of the thesis: not every 'private religion' has an essential fault. There follow ten arguments, also in rigid scholastic form: (1) Every 'private religion' is erroneous on account of its human origin; (2) it prevents the religious precepts of the Gospel from being fulfilled; (3) it rejects God's aid in its Ceremonies; (4) follows false leaders; (5) to choose it is foolish.*

Chap. II. *(6) The solitary (monastic) life itself is foolish; (7) it enforces obedience to man — not to Christ; (8) it requires the fulfilment of commands beyond what is required by general religion; (9) rests on an imperfect foundation, is originated by man, and not by Infinite Wisdom; (10) it pretends that it alone can shew works of true religion. From these reasons it follows that the above thesis is false, viz: every private religion has a* defectus essencialis.

Chap. III. *The objections of a* reverendus monachus *to this last position are refuted. First Objection: No monastic order has such defects; every monastic order is a 'private religion', etc.; Answer to this proposition. Second Objection: St. Benedict has given a complete and universally-admitted rule, etc. Answer to this.*

Chap. IV. Third Objection: Benedict founded the orders by Divine inspiration. Answer. — 4th Objection: no private religion prevents its members from practising works of mercy. Answer. — 5th Objection: the private religion gives the greatest security for the true Christian life. Answer.

Chap. V. 6th Objection: it is more secure than the order of the prelates. Answer.

Chap. VI. 7th Objection: according to a just law its servants are taught to make no use of the right of confession to a priest of another order. Answer in detail.

Chap. VII. Continuation on doing Penance.

Chap. VIII. 8th Objection: the private religion is in its nature more perfect, more deserving and more secure than a secular state — the divisions of the latter. Answer. — Conclusion: St. Peter and St. Paul and all the Saints in Heaven reject the private religions.

III. Date of Composition.

Without any clue. If the Tract be genuine, some remark as to what public discussion in the University it refers, must be expected to be found in other (unpublished) writings of W. Cp. cap. I beginning. In spite of careful research, I have been unable to find a sufficient cause for the compilation of this Tract in W.'s life, espesially during his activity at the University.

IV. Genuineness.

Amongst all the polemical writings of W.'s, this is the least authenticated. It is not mentioned either in the Vienna Catalogues or Bale or Leland. As far as I can judge, Shirley for the first time mentions the Tract as a genuine work of Wiclif, Catal. No. 81 p. 27, but without giving any reason. He did so, probably, because the Tract is found in the Wiclif-Codices;[1] *with ref. to this, compare, for instance, Shirley's argument for the authenticity of the fragment* De fratribus ad scholares, *Cat. No. 90: „found with works of Wyclif and said to correspond to correspond to them in style' which I deci-*

[1] *and is, therefore, attributed by Denis to the pre-reformer, cp. II, 1459; 1471.*

dly consider not to be genuine. After Shirley Lechler, J. v. W. II, 68, who does not undertake the critical examination of the question. 'aughan is silent about the Tract.

But the testimony of the Vienna and Prague codd. is also insufficient. Cod. C contains no notice of its origin from W. The old idex on the flyleaf of the cod. β (cp. above General Introduction IV, escription of the Manuscripts) gives the title of the Tract among her writings which do not owe their origin to W., but still it has notice referring to the author: Idem, *that is J. W., whose genuine racts precede it. This is the only early, and indirect authority for genuineness.*

Cod. A also contains the Tract in its index, on the front cover, b No. 26 and with the separate title: Argumenta contra posiciom de religionibus privatis *(cp. the Description of the cod. above the General Introduction, IV). But in spite of the General Title the Index:* Liber Wiglef doctoris Ewangelici *not all the Tracts med here are by W. himself (cp. No. 19* Compilacio metrica de əplicacionibus) *and under the very No. 25—27 all those Tracts ich are not W.'s, seem to be put together: No. 25:* Posicio discili Magistri Iohannis de Eucharistia, *No. 26:* Argumenta *etc. see ove, No. 27:* Soluciones quarundam questionum. *Therefore, the index the cod. does not in any way prove that they owe their origin to W.*

The same is the case with cod. α. In the index on the front cover, title of the Tract is placed among W.'s writings; but here also e Rel. privata *is followed by* Raciones cuiusdam discipuli Wikleph ibus probat licere *etc. etc. The last Tract in the index* de Imagibus *is also very doubtful as to its origin from W., cp. Shirley, tal. No. 26.*

From this follows, that the external *evidence is of the least ssible value in proof of authenticity. Cod. α and A seem rather point to this Tract as being by one of W.'s disciples.*

The internal *evidence is also very weak. A great number turns in the expression remind one of W.'s style; the lengthy struction of the sentences struck me most, cp. p. 501—2; ;—6; 508 and many more. On the other hand, the following ons seem rather to point against its being compiled by W.;*

(1) the tone which so essentially differs from that of the other works printed in this volume, and the dry scholastic style of argument; (2) the frequent reference the the great Fathers of the Church, St. Gregory, Augustin, Hieronymus, whilst the Bible is hardly once referred to as a witness, which is constantly the case in the other genuine writings of the Doctor Ewangelicus; *(3) the abstract argumentation against the* religio privata, *which is nowhere to be found in W.'s genuine works, where in every case the single representatives of this* vita *are attacked from a practical point of view. The polemical argumentation also, solely directed against the* monachi, *is remarkable. While in other works the* quatuor secte novelle *are constantly mentioned, here they are not even once spoken of, and it is just these which are the favourite objects of W.'s wrath, when speaking of the matter here attacked. (4) Lastly the* sacerdotes simplices *are spoken of here in contradistinction from the Prelates and Bishops (as 'subordinates'), but not in the specific Wiclifian sense, as opposed to the four Sects. This may suffice to characterize the Tract. Although I am not prepared to consider any of the foregoing reasons as incontrovertible, I still hesitate to recognise the pamphlet as a genuine work of W.'s.*

V. *Not printed heretofore.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 261^c—266^b { A^1 = *Corrector (pale ink)*; A^2 = *Corrector (dark ink)* }

cod. 4527 = C fol. 184^b—191^a { C^1 = *red hand*; C^2 = *Glosser* (ad endoxum); C^3 = *Corrector, thin hand* }

both in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. X. E. 9. = α fol. 194^a—202^a α^1 = *only Corrector*

cod. III. G. 11. = β fol. 201^a—208^b { β^1 = *Glosser (thick black hand)*; β^2 = *Corrector*; β^3 = *Corr. and Glosser (red hand)* }

the latter two being in the Univ.-Library at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

I confine myself to slight notices:

A. **Their relationship.** *I. C—α. (1) In 92 places the codd.*

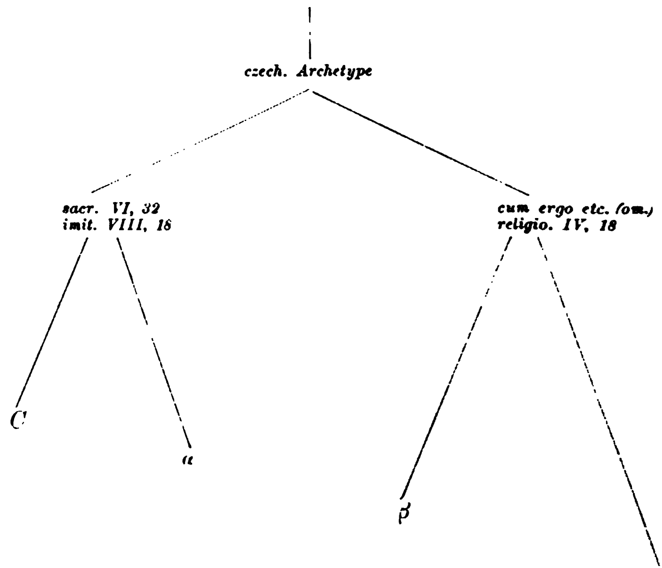
re divided into two groups (each in two), — of these C—α (or A—β) agree 78 times; α—β (or A—C) 11 times, C—β (or A—α) twice. (2) *Cp. further the characteristic readings* habere *I note 11;* cum ergo *II, 15;* magn. *III, 15;* approb. *III, 29;* regit. *IV, 54;* ut vid. *IV, 61;* nisi for. *V, e;* optenta *VII, 49; 54;* recip. *(om.) VII, 47;* omit. *VIII, 18; especially* eciam hoc neq. *VIII, 8 and* sacrament. *VI, 32. — (3) cp. also the order of the words, which, although in itself quite irrelevant, is peculiar to C—α:* a. p. *II, 25;* v. h. *III, 4;* i. v. e. *III, 8;* e. c. *IV, 16;* b. B. e. *IV, 24;* i. r. *IV, 27;* p. e. l. *V, 6;* a. a. s. id. *VI, 4;* a. s. *VI, 10;* v. e. *VI, 18;* s. e. m. *VIII, 1;* p. a. p. *VIII, 15;* c. m. d. *VIII, 36;* s. t. *VIII, 44. The same passages are also to be admitted as proof of the connection between the groups A—β.*

It follows further (1) from the very numerous omissions of the somewhat careless α (I do not quote all on account of their great number, but cp. for instance laudabil. *VIII, 13;* huma. *I, 3;* vita *II, 2) that the text of C which is complete, cannot have been derived from α; in the same way (2) from* laudabil. *VIII, 13 and IV, 30;* endoxum *V, 23;* 23 *VII, 10;* deus *VII, 29;* pro *(om.) VIII, 9;* non *VIII, 26, where α has filled up the blanks found in C, mostly in conformity with the two other codd., it is evident that α cannot well have been derived from C. The almost entire agreement of both codd. (even in their slips of the pen) seems to me to show that both spring from a common source; cp. above under A I. 1 and 3.*

II. A—β stand in a similiar connection (cp. above under A I. 2 and 3). β has many, in part longer, omissions: et cum *II, 11;* et ad *etc. IV, 42;* exc. *V, 37;* part. *VII, 4;* non deb. *VII, 48;* sicut *VII, 40. A gives in these passages the complete text, therefore β was not the original of A. With ref to the reverse, that A was not the original of β, cp.* ex hoc op. *VIII, 52; also* quand. *VIII, 14;* min. penit. *VII, 21;* pap. *(om.) VII, 1;* pene *VII, 6 and many more. The reading* religionib. *IV, 18 seems to me to speak for their having originated from the same source.*

B. **The best Codex.** *In the passages which vary, to the number of about 195, A reads what is false 103 times, β 94 times, α 34 times and C 28 times. Group A—β, therefore, on account*

of its extreme corruption, is to be rejected from the competition. C and α are nearly equal as regards their inner value. But on count of the numerous omissions in α — 21, while only 2 in ten independent ones, in opposition to the three other codd.; C has c one of this kind, and that is the name endoxum; especially on acco of laudabiliter VIII, 13 and passages like de necess. VI, 34; fran IV, 66 (α read his original carelessly) — I give the preference t in forming my text. — The result of the foregoing critical exami tion is shown by the following diagram:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE RELIGIONE PRIVATA.[1]

I.

CAP. I.

‖ [2] In materia de religione privata ponit quedam posicio, quod non omnis religio | privata habet aliquem defectum essencialem, propter quem est culpabilis |. *C fol. 184b lin. 1*

Contra quam posicionem arguitur multipliciter.

Primo sic: nulla humana[3] prudencia sufficit, | facere religionem sine defectu culpabili, cum ergo omnis religio privata est religio facta ab humana prudencia, eo, quod omnis religio privata est descriptive religio secundum leges et condiciones humane mensure, in qua ponitur,[4] sequitur, quod omnis religio privata est religio cum defectu culpabili.

Patet consequencia cum minori, et maior arguitur[5] sic: nulla humana prudencia[6] sufficit ordinare penitenciam pro penitente sine defectu culpabili excessus vel diminucionis vel alterius indebite condicionis, ergo a pari vel maiori nulla humana prudencia sufficit ordinare religionem pro religioso sine defectu culpabili[7] excessus vel diminucionis aut alterius indebite condicionis.

CAP. I. [1] *Without title, Expl. and Inc. in all the codd. in A this Tract is preceded by:* Posicio discipuli de transsubstantiacione *in C by* De dyabolo et membris eius *Expl.:* contra fideles declinari *in α by* De fundacione sectarum *Expl.:* sit ablata *in β by* Comment. de Matth. XXIV *Expl.:* sit melius intellecta. — *There is no division into chapters in the codd.* [2] *cod. A fol. 261r lin. 1 cod. α fol. 194a lin. 18 cod. β fol. 201a lin. 15* [3] hum. *ACβ om. α* [4] *in β in mar.:* Religio humana quid est *β¹* [5] arguitur *ACα* probatur *β* [6] prud. *ACα, add. later by β²* sapiencia *(cr. out) β* [7] si. cu. de. *ACβ* si. de. cu. sine defectu culpabili *α*

Item[8]: omnis religio impediens suum professorem ad servandum ritus religiosos in mensura pure ewangelica, qua sunt a deo positi, est[9] culpabilis. Cum ergo omnis religio privata[10] est huiusmodi religio, sequitur, quod omnis religio privata est culpabilis.

Patet consequencia cum minori et maior per hoc, quod omnis huiusmodi religio obligat suum professorem ad servandum ritus religiosos in mensura humana, qua sunt ab homine positi.

Item: omnis religio obligans suum professorem, dum est subditus in ea, contempnere habere[11] mocionem dei pro sufficienti licencia ad variandum in ritibus[12] pro debita execucione religionis communis est culpabilis; cum[13] ergo omnis religio privata est huiusmodi religio, sequitur, quod omnis religio privata est culpabilis.

Patet consequencia cum maiori et minor[14] per hoc, quod omnis religio privata prohibet suum professorem, dum est subditus in ea, facere[15] huiusmodi variacionem[16] sine mocione et licencia sui prelati sub deo ad hoc.

Item: omnis religio obligans suum professorem, dum est subditus in ea, ad sequendum aliquod fallibile tamquam regulam infallibilem pro ductu sui ad beatitudinem, est culpabilis; cum ergo omnis religio privata est huiusmodi[17] religio, sequitur, quod omnis religio privata est culpabilis.

Patet consequencia cum maiori et minor per hoc, quod omnis religio privata obligat suum professorem, dum est subditus in ea, ad sequendum in actibus vocatis neutris fallibilem voluntatem sui prelati sub deo tamquam regulam infallibilem pro ductu sui in eis ad beatitudinem.

Item: omnis ingrediens religionem privatam in sic ingrediendo peccat propter fatuam eius eleccionem, cum ergo omnis religio privata includit in se essencialiter ipsam eleccionem, sequitur, quod omnis religio privata essencialiter peccat, et per consequens essencialiter est culpabilis.

[8] *in cod. α here and in the following cases, the new argument* (Item) *always begins a new line* [9] est $AC\alpha,\beta^2$, *corr. later in the text by* β^2 sit (*cr. out*) β [10] r. p. $C\alpha$ p. r. $A\beta$ [11] habere $C\alpha$ *om.* $A\beta$ [12] *in C the* r *of* ritibus *is erased* [13] cum $AC\alpha,\beta^1$ *in mar.* *om.* β [14] minor $A\beta$ minori $C\alpha$ [15] facere $AC\alpha,\beta^1$ *in mar.* fre β [16] variac. $AC\beta$ mocionem et variacionem α [17] e hu. $C\alpha\beta$ est culpabilis (*cul. ud.*) est hu. A

Assumptum sic arguitur: omnis contempnens eligere medium sibi apcius pro execucione religionis communis ut sic peccat; cum ergo omnis ingrediens religionem privatam in sic eligendo[18] facit huiusmodi contemptum, sequitur assumptum probandum.

Patet consequencia cum maiori et minor per hoc, quod omnis ingrediens religionem privatam contempnit eligere medium illud pro execucione religionis communis, || quod patres primitive ecclesie *C fol. 185a* ante introduccionem religionis private asseruerunt in opere esse medium efficacissimum omnibus cristianis pro execucione religionis communis.

CAP. II.

Item: religio privata includit in se excellencius stulticiam illam, quam includit in se vita privata secularis, quam facit ipsa vita secularis; cum[1] ergo vita privata secularis propter talem inclusionem est culpabilis, sequitur, quod religio privata propter huiusmodi inclusionem est plus culpabilis.

Patet consequencia et minor per hoc, quod vita[2] privata secularis includit in se observanciam regule humane secundum mensuram illam, qua errore perceptibili vel imperceptibili ponitur ab homine in esse regule ad ducendum viatores ad beatitudinem. Maior vero sic arguitur: omne, quod includit in se observanciam stulticie et votum ad illam observanciam, includit in se excellencius stulticiam illam quam illud, quod includit in se observanciam illius stulticie et non votum ad illam; cum ergo omnis religio privata includit in se observanciam regule humane secundum mensuram illam, qua errore perceptibili vel imperceptibili ponitur ab homine in esse regule ad ducendum viatores ad beatitudinem tamquam stulticiam et votum ad illam, et vita privata secularis includit[3] in se ipsam observanciam tamquam stulticiam sine voto ad eam, sequitur maior probanda.

Item: omnis religio obligans suum professorem, dum est sub-

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[18] eligendo *ACβ* ingrediendo *α*

CAP. II. [1] cum *Cα,β,A¹ (!) corr. later into the text om. A* [2] vita *ACβ om. α* [3] includit *Cα om. Aβ*

ditus in ea, ad sequendum hominem sub Cristo[4] ultra id,[5] quod sequitur Cristum, est culpabilis; cum ergo omnis[6] religio privata est huiusmodi religio, sequitur, quod omnis religio privata est culpabilis.

Patet consequencia cum maiori, et minor sic arguitur: omnis religio privata obligat[7] suum professorem, dum est subditus in ea, ad sequendum hominem sub Cristo plene in ritibus illis, per quos ipse reputat se sequi Cristum; cum ergo illi ritus sunt in multis suis partibus extensivis culpabiles, sequitur, quod omnis[8] religio privata obligat suum professorem, dum est subditus in ea, ad sequendum hominem sub Cristo ultra id, quod sequitur Cristum.[9]

Patet consequencia cum maiori et minor per hoc, quod ritus illi sunt executi frequenter per hominem sub Cristo preter inspiracionem dei ad hoc ex quadam humana reputacione seu[10] prudencia. Et cum talis reputacio seu prudencia[11] non est sine errore culpabili, sequitur, quod illi ritus sunt in multis suis partibus extensivis culpabiles.

Item: omnis religio particularis[12] statuta ultra mensuram, qua facilitat ad observanciam religionis communis, est essencialiter culpabilis; cum ergo omnis religio privata est huiusmodi religio, sequitur, quod omnis religio privata est essencialiter culpabilis.

Patet consequencia cum maiori et minor per hoc, quod omnis religio privata est religio particularis statuta in plena mensura, qua reputatur facilitare ad[13] observanciam religionis communis; cum ergo mensura, qua religio reputatur facilitare ad observanciam religionis communis, est amplior quam mensura, qua religio facilitat ad[14] observanciam religionis communis, sequitur,[15] quod omnis religio privata est religio particularis statuta ultra mensuram, qua facilitat ad[16] observanciam religionis[17] communis.

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[4] sub Cristo *Cαβ* sicut Cristus *A* [5] id *Cαβ* illud *A* [6] om. *in β, a correction has taken place (by β²)* [7] obl. *ACα* sic obl. *β* [8] om. *in β corr. by β²* [9] Cristum *α* illa *C* quarta *(!) A* *om. β* [10] seu *ACα* sive *β* [11] et cum t. r. s. pru. *ACα* *om. β* [12] particularis *Cαβ* partis *A* [13] ad *C* *om. Aβα* [14] ad *Cα* *om. Aβ* [15] communis cum ergo mens., q. r. r. f. ad ob. r. communis, est ampl. q. m., q. r. f. ad ob. r. communis sequitur *Cα* communis est ampl. q. m., q. r. f. ob. r. comm., sequitur *A* communis sequitur *β*, *but* est amplior — ad ob. r. comm. *is added by β² with mark of ref. below the col.* cum ergo m., q. r. r. f. ad ob. r. comm. *om. by A and β²* [16] ad *C* *om. Aαβ* [17] rel. *Cαβ* leligionis *A*

Item: omnis religio particularis facta ex ignorancia vel de-a artis statuendi religionem particularem in mensura, qua faci-; ad[18] observanciam religionis[19] communis, est culpabilis; cum omnis religio privata est huiusmodi religio, sequitur, quod nis religio privata est culpabilis. *C fol. 185b*

Patet consequencia cum maiori, et minor sic arguitur: sciencia is statuendi religionem particularem in tali mensura competit i deo et hiis, quibus supernaturaliter[20] dat illam; cum ergo ho-nes statuentes religionem privatam non habuerunt ipsam scien-m, cum tunc foret paris auctoritatis cum epistolis Pauli et orum apostolorum, quod nemo dicit, sequitur, quod non statue-nt ipsam ex ipsa sciencia, et per consequens cum statuerunt ipsam, quitur, quod ipsi statuerunt ipsam ex ignorancia[21] seu ex[22] de-ctu ipsius sciencie.

Item: omnis religio non divina presumens habere opus, quod soli ligioni divine est proprium, sapit blasphemiam; cum ergo omnis ligio privata est religio non divina sic presumens, sequitur, quod nnis religio privata sapit blasphemiam, et per consequens omnis iiusmodi religio est culpabilis.

Patet consequencia cum maiori, et minor sic[23] arguitur: omnis eligio privata est religio non divina, presumens regere viatores n cultu divino sine defectu; cum ergo sic regere sit opus soli religioni divine proprium, sequitur minor probanda.

Patet consequencia cum minori et maior per hoc, quod omnis religio privata est religio non divina pretendens, se esse religionem sine defectu, positam precise in ea mensura, qua facilitat ad observanciam religionis communis.[24] —

Propter istas raciones et alias plures[25] adducendas tenendum est oppositum dicte posicionis tamquam fides catholica vel tamquam veritas ei propinqua,[26] scilicet, quod omnis religio privata habet aliquem defectum essencialem, propter quem est culpabilis.

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[18] ad *Caβ* *om. A* [19] relig. *Caβ* legis *A* [20] supern. *Caβ* supnaturaliter *A (compend. om.)* [21] ipsam ex ipsa sciencia — ex ignorancia *ACa* ipsam ex ign. *β*, *but* ex ipsa sc. — stat. ipsam *add. later in mar. by β²* [22] ex *C* *om. Aaβ* [23] sic *ACβ* *om. a* [24] rel. com. *ACa* legis *(underlined)* communis religionis *β* [25] a. p. *Ca* p. a. *Aβ* [26] prop. *Caβ* contraria *(ud.)* prop. *A*

CAP. III.

Contra[1] quam posicionem arguit quidam[2] reverendus monad multipliciter.

Primo sic: nullus ordo monasticus habet defectum essencial propter quem est culpabilis, et cum omnis ordo monasticus est reli privata, sequitur, quod non omnis religio privata habet defect essencialem, propter quem est culpabilis.

Consequenciam dicit patere cum minori, et maiorem arguit omne votum, in quo consistit essencialiter ordo monasticus, sec dum omnem suam condicionem essencialem[3] fundatur in ewang eo, quod omne votum huiusmodi[4] est votum paupertatis, castit vel[5] obediencie, ergo omnis ordo monasticus secundum omnem su condicionem essencialem fundatur in ewangelio, et per conseq nullus ordo monasticus habet defectum essencialem, propter q est culpabilis.

Hic dicitur[6] negando, quod nullus ordo monasticus habet fectum essencialem, propter quem est culpabilis. Et ad pr cionem eius cum sic arguitur: omne votum etc.[a], dicitur hoc negs eo, quod votum obediencie, in quo consistit essencialiter ordo vatus monasticus, non secundum omnem condicionem suam es cialem fundatur in ewangelio, cum votum ipsum secundum quam eius condicionem obliget[7] ad servandum ritus humanos hoc, quod facilitant ad observanciam religionis communis perf
|| C fol. 186[a] rum, ut prius[b] est probatum. || Ex quo sequitur, quod in n obediencia pure ewangelica speciali vel generali ex voto facta lato sub deo propter amorem dei fundantur implicite vel expli omnes licite et honeste observancie monastice secundum or suas condiciones essenciales, eo, quod statuicio humana istarum

CAP. III. [a] Cp. above l. 8 ff. [b] cp. above p. 494

CAP. III. [1] In A is add. in mar.: Nota A^1 [2] quidam $A\alpha\beta$ quid [3] essencialem $A\beta$ om. C suam α [4] v. h. $C\alpha$ (in C transposed by marks v. $A\beta$ [5] vel $AC\beta$ et α [6] dicitur $C\alpha$ dicunt $A\beta$, in C is add. in Responsio C^1 [7] obliget $AC\beta$ obligat α [8] fundantur im. v. ex. C f tur im. v. ex. α fundatur ex. v. imp. $A\beta$

:vanciarum, que est essencialis condicio omnium harum obser- nciarum in multis earum, est secundum quid erronea,[9] ut prius[10 c] t probatum.

Secundo patet, quod infirmato proposito Petri cum delibera- ne promittentis servare perseveranter usque in finem sequelam isti in obediencia, de quo Matth. 9,[11 d] non fundatur votum ediencie private secundum omnem suam condicionem, in quo encialiter consistit religio privata, eo, quod votum Petri quoad nes suas condiciones essenciales de genere voti fuit pure ewan- licum.[12]

Secundo arguit sic: sanctus Benedictus consummavit finaliter ivatam regulam[13] monachorum discrecione[14] magna[15] et ab uni- rsali ecclesia approbatam,[16] ut testatur[17] beatus Gregorius[e] secundo Dialogorum, ergo regula ipsa monachorum ab eo ordinata et con- mmata[18] est secundum omnes suas condiciones essenciales lauda- bilis, et cum secundum ipsam exemplatur religio privata monachorum, sequitur, quod religio privata monachorum est secundum omnes suas con- diciones essenciales laudabilis et secundum nullam earum[19] culpabilis.

Hic dicitur negando primam consequenciam:[20] racio[21] est, quia regula ipsa habet[22] duas raciones, unam fundatam in scriptura sacra,[23] et aliam non. Unde secundum suam racionem primam est ipsa discrecione magna et ab universali ecclesia approbata, quia secundum illam racionem est ipsa posita pure in mensura, qua facilitat ad observanciam communis religionis perfectorum et non secundum secundam[24] suam racionem est[25] ipsa discrecione

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[c] *cp. above p. 494 ff.* [d] *cp. v. 34—35; Mark 14, 29—30; Luke 22, 33—34; John 13, 38* [e] *Gregor. Opp. (edition of the Benedict.) Paris 1705 tom. II Dialog. lib. II p. 272 E*

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[9] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota radicem hic suo opinionis A^2 [10] ut p. *ACα* ut prius *(cr. out by β^2)* ut pr. *β* [11] *all the codd. read* 9 [12] ewangelicum *ACα* ewangelium *β* [13] pr. r. *ACα* religionem *(above it* regulam *by β^2)* privat. *β* [14] discr. *has undergone a correction in β (by β^2)* [15] magna *Cα* magnam *Aβ* [16] approbatam *Aαβ* approbata *C* [17] test. *has undergone a corr. by the texthand* in *β* [18] consummata *α*,C^3, *add. into the text* confirmate *ACβ* [19] earum *C(?)αβ* eorum *A* [20] pr. con. *ACα* c. p. *β* *in C is add. in mar.:* Responsio *(not clear)* C^1 [21] ra. *Cα* et ra. *Aβ* [22] hab. *ACα* non hab. *β* [23] scr. s. *ACα* s. scr. *β* [24] secundam *ACα* *om. β* [25] est *ACα* et *β*

magna et ab universali ecclesia approbata, quia non secund illam racionem est ipsa posita in dicta mensura. Ex quo sequit quod ad rectificandum dictam consequenciam oporteret in antecede sumere talem proposicionem[26]: sanctus Benedictus consummavit fi liter regulam privatam monachorum secundum omnem suam racio discrecione[27] magna[28] et ab universali ecclesia approbatam.[29] tunc concedenda esset ipsa consequencia et negandum eius anteced nec ipsum antecedens, ut constat, asserit beatus Gregorius in d allegato, licet in ipso asserat, quod sanctus Benedictus consumm finaliter particularem regulam monachorum habentem omnem aliquam racionem fundatam in scriptura sacra, secundum quam discrecione magna et ab universali ecclesia approbata.

Ex quo patet, quod de qualibet privata religione potest religio particularis pure ewangelica ab eo, qui habet scienciam vinam separandi purum ab impuro in ea. Et a pari de quol dominio seculari potest fieri dominium proprietarium pure ewa licum per huiusmodi separacionem.[30]

Secundo patet, quod non sequitur, regula privata monacho quam finaliter consummavit sanctus[31] Benedictus vel alius, secundum omnem racionem suam ab hominibus distincte perc bilem laudabilis, ergo est secundum omnem racionem suam la
O fol. 186b bilis vel discre || cione magna aut[32] ab universali ecclesia ap bata, ut patet in assimili[33] de vita sancti Iohannis Baptiste.

Tercio patet, quod omnis religio privata sit[34] de religione[35]] ewangelica per addicionem alicuius ritus religiosi ad eam sub rac nimie universalitatis aut alterius condicionis non fundatam in ptura sacra et per consequens per addicionem impuri ad puru

[f] *cp. above p. 497*

[26] proposicionem $C\beta$ propositum $A\alpha$ [27] discr. *has undergone a corr. (by β^2)* [28] magna $C\alpha\beta$ magnam A [29] approbatam $A\beta$ approbata $C\alpha$ *A in add. below the col. 262^d:* Nota de quolibet dominio seculari, potest dominium proprietarium ewangelicum per mali separacionem A^1 [31] sa. beatus *(ud.)* su. C [32] aut $A\alpha\beta$ et *(ud.) above it* aut C [33] assimili speciali β, *above it* assimili *von* β^2 [34] sit $AC\beta$ fit α [35] de reli. $C\alpha$ deb de vita β [36] purum AC inpurum etc. α inpurum β, *but* in *in bra (by β^2 !)*

CAP. IV.

Tercio arguit sic: beatus[1] Benedictus, quando instituit[2] regulam privatam monachorum fuit spiritu iustorum omnium[3] plenus, ut testatur beatus Gregorius,[a] ubi supra; ergo pro tunc habuit scienciam ad instituendum ipsam regulam sine errore. Et cum ex sciencia,[4] quam tunc habuit, instituit ipsam regulam, sequitur, quod instituit ipsam sine errore, et per consequens religio privata exemplata secundum ipsam est sine aliqua erronea vel culpabili condicione laudabilis.

Hic dicitur[5] negando primam consequenciam et 'racio est in assimili' non sequitur; nam non sequitur, beatus Benedictus, quando vixit vitam laudabilem in hoc mundo, fuit spiritu iustorum omnium[6] plenus, ergo pro tunc habuit scienciam ad vivendum vitam laudabilem sine aliqua condicione culpabili. Cum antecedens[7] sit verum et consequens falsum,[8] ergo a pari in proposito[9] non sequitur, cum sit plene assimili.

Ex quo patet, quod non omnis plenitudo, qua quis est plenus spiritu sancto, qui est spiritus omnium[10] iustorum, tollit a vita sua laudabili omnem culpam, cum apostoli, qui cum beato Stephano fuerunt pleni spiritu sancto,[b] sciebant, se cum ipsa plenitudine habere peccatum, ut testatur beatus Iohannes Iª Ioh. 3,[11][c] dum de se et suis sociis[12] apostolis sic dicit: si dixerimus, quia[13] peccatum non habemus, nos[14] ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

CAP. IV. [a] *Gregor. Opp. (edition of the Bened.) Paris 1705, tom. II Dialog. lib. II p. 229 A: Ut perpendo, vir iste spiritu iustorum omnium plenus fuit* [b] *cp. Act. 7, 55* [c] *v. 8*

CAP. IV. [1] beatus *ACα* sanctus *β* [2] qu. in. *ACβ* qu. in. quando instituit *α* [3] iust. omni. *ACβ* omni. iust. *α* [4] sc. *in β corr. from* consciencia *by the texthand* [5] *in C is add. in mar.:* Responsio *C¹* [6] omnium *α* omni *ACβ* [7] antecedens *Cαβ* maius *A* [8] fals. *Cα* *om. Aβ* [9] in prop. *ACα* *om. β, above the line by β²* [10] omnium *Aαβ* omni *C* [11] Ioh. Iª Ioh. 3° *α* Ioh. 3° *(the 3 cr. out) β, in mar. is add.:* I Ioh. 1 *by β³* Ioh. 3° *AC* [12] sociis *ACα* *om. β, but add. by β² above the line* [13] quia *ACα* quoniam *β* [14] nos *ACβ* nosmet *α*

Quarto arguit sic: nulla religio privata difficultat suum pro-fessorem ad implendum opera misericordie, sed si aliqua religio pri-vata haberet defectum[15] essencialem culpabilem,[16] sic difficultaret; ergo nulla religio privata habet huiusmodi defectum.

Consequenciam dicit[17] patere et antecedens per hoc, quod regule private religionis[18] cum suis institutoribus[19] hortantur super omnia ad dileccionem dei, ad custodiam preceptorum eius et ex-presse atque distincte ad opera[20] misericordie et caritatis, ut patet specialiter de regula monachorum et beato Benedicto, eius insti-tutore.[21]

Hic dicitur negando, quod nulla religio privata difficultat suum professorem ad implendum opera misericordie, ut[22] hoc probat propo-sicio, que pro eius probacione adducitur[23] et racio est, quia,[24] licet regule private religionis secundum racionem illam, qua fundantur[25] in communi regula pure ewangelica perfectorum sic hortantur, ipse tamen regule secundum racionem suam aliam, qua carent fun-dacione in ipsa communi regula non sic hortantur, et per conse-quens secundum illam racionem difficultant ab implecione operum misericordie saltem spiritualis, quam debent facere[26] in se et in aliis suis proximis.

Ex quo patet, quod non sequitur a tempore incepcionis pri-
|| *C fol. 187a* vate religionis monachorum innumerabiles sancti || et clerici excel-lentes tam vita quam doctrina tenuerunt et approbaverunt eam, ut ultra communitatem perfectorum credencium expedicius, securius et meritorius mandata dei servarent et in caritatis exerciciis sibi placerent. Ergo ipsa religio[27] secundum omnem suam condi-cionem essencialem est laudabilis. Sufficit enim[28] pro consequente debite deducendo ex ipso antecedente, quod religio ipsa secundum omnem suam condicionem essencialem, secundum quam debet teneri et[29] approbari ab aliquo, sit laudabilis.

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[15] def. *ACα* aliquem def. *β* [16] ess. cu. *Cα* cu. ess. *Aβ* [17] dicit *Cαβ* tenet *(ad.)* dic. *A* [18] religionis *Cα* religionibus *Aβ* [19] institutoribus *Cα* institucionibus *Aβ* [20] opera *α* opere *ACβ* [21] b. B., e. i. *Cα* e. i., b. B. *Aβ* [22] ut *Cα* nec *Aβ* [23] adducitur *Cαβ* adiicitur *A* [24] quia *Cαβ* qua *A* [25] fundantur *Cα* fundatur *Aβ* [26] facere *ACα* habere *β* [27] i. r. *Cα* r. i. *Aβ* [28] enim *Cα* ergo *Aβ* [29] et *Cα* vel *Aβ*

Secundo patet, quod omnis condicio culpabilis vite difficultat[30] secundum quid viatorem, qui vivit ipsam vitam ad implendum opera[31] misericordie, cum omnis talis condicio subtrahit ab eo gradum gracie, per quem debet fortificari ad proficiendum misericorditer[32] sibi ipsi et ecclesie.[33]

Quinto arguit sic: religio privata est status securissimus pro viatore, quod non foret[34] verum, nisi religio privata secundum omnem condicionem suam essencialem foret laudabilis, ergo sic est.

Consequenciam dicit patere et assumptum sic arguit: status privatus claustralis est status securissimus pro viatore eo, quod sanctus[35] Gregorius, sanctus Augustinus, sanctus Hieronymus, sanctus Benedictus, sanctus[36] Bernhardus, Dominicus, Franciscus[37] cum quotquot[38] aliis sanctis exemplo vite ipsum[39] securissimum[40] affirmaverunt. Et cum omnis[41] huiusmodi status claustralis est religio privata, sequitur, ut dicit, antecedens probandum.

Hic dicitur[42] negando, quod religio privata est status securissimus pro viatore. Et ad probacionem eius dum sic arguitur: status privatus claustralis est status securissimus pro viatore,[43] dicitur eciam hoc negando, nec hoc asseruerunt saltem scienter distincte,[44] ut creditur, exemplo vite dicti[45] sancti recitati, licet exemplo vite asseruerunt,[46] quod status privatus claustralis secundum racionem illam, qua est fundatus, in communi religioni pure ewangelica perfectorum est status securus viatori ad vivendum in eo tamquam in scola Cristi pro beatitudine acquirenda, quam securitatem in parte declarat bene iste monachus,[d] dum dicit, quod in monasterio, quod iste status regitur[47] per prelatos, habet subditus de temporalibus in usu

[d] *cp. above cap. III commencement p. 496*

[30] diff. *ACβ* laudabilis diff. *α* [31] op. *ACα* ipsa op. *β* [32] miser. *Cα* *om.* *Aβ* [33] eccl. *ACβ* eccl. etc. *α* [34] foret *Aαβ* fieret *C* [35] sanctus *Cαβ* beatus *A* [36] sanctus *ACβ* *om.* *α* [37] Be. Do. Fr. *Cα* Be. sanctus Do. et Fr. *Aβ* [38] quotquot *ACβ* quodlibet *α* [39] ipsum *Cαβ* ipse *A* [40] securrissimum *Cαβ* securissime *A* [41] omnis *Cα* *om.* *Aβ* [42] *in C is add. in mar.:* Responsio *C¹* [43] et ad prob. e. d. s. a. st. p. cl. e. s. s. p. v. *ACα* *om.* *β*, *but add. in mar. by β²* [44] sci. dist. *Cαβ* dist. sc. *A* [45] dicti *Cα* *om.* *Aβ* [46] asseruerunt *ACα* asseruerant *β* [47] regitur *Cα* regit *Aβ*

sensibili solum necessarium victum et vestitum absque egestate [v]el superfluitate[48] iuxta mentem apostoli I[49] Tim. 6[e] et secundum [ora]cionem[50] et desiderium sapientissimi Salomonis Proverb. *(30)*[51][f] [et] hoc sine magna vagacione et[52] sollicitudine seculari, que sole[nt][53] cultum dei impedire et variis peccatis occasionem multiplicem m[ini]nistrare. In monasterio eciam, quod iste status regitur[54] per p[re]latos, habet subditus multa promotiva ad bonum et multa retracti[va] a malo, ut puta, exempla, doctrinas, moniciones et frequentes cor[rec]reciones superiorum et sociorum.

Ex quo patet, quod in monasterio, quod[55] defectus religio[nis] regitur[56] per prelatos, est[57] subditus longe valde ab hac securita[te] declarata, cum in tali monasterio habet subditus pauca retractiva a malo et multa promotiva ad malum, quod dicit quidam fidelis, quod monasterium seu claustrum huiusmodi male regulatum e[st] nidus dyaboli, a quo rapit multas animas ad infernum, in quo fove[t] pullos suos dogmate ypocritico, a doctrina domini elongato, racione
? fol. 187b cuius nutricionis[58] || multe anime, ut probabiliter creditur, dampnantur in tartaris, que nutrite in scola domini forent salvate in celis, dum servata doctrina Cristi libere fuerint[59] eventate.

Secundo patet, quod sumendo religionem privatam pro religione communi perfectorum, cui non additur aliquis ritus humanus tamquam pars eius, licet addatur sibi tamquam accidens eius, potest vere dici, quod religio privata est status securissimus pro viatore ad beatitudinem. In quo sensu[60] sumit, ut videtur,[61] apostolus eam, dum[62] dicit Act.[63] 26,[64][g] quia[65] secundum certissimam sectam

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[e] *v. 8* [f] *v. 8; from* desiderium *and* oracionem *it is evident that this verse is meant by W., not, for instance, v. 13, 7; 25* [g] *v. 5*

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[48] superfl. *Cαβ* supfluitate *A* [49] Iª *α* *om. ACβ* [50] oracionem *ACβ* racionem *α* [51] *all the codd. read* 13 [52] et *AC* vel *αβ* [53] solent *ACβ* solet *α* [54] regitur *Cα* regit *Aβ* [55] quod *AC,β corr. above the line* *om. αβ* [56] regitur *Cα* regit *Aβ* [57] est *Cαγ* et *A* [58] nutric. *Cα* enutricionis *A,β here a correction took place at it* [59] fuerint *Cα* forent *Aβ* [60] sensu *ACβ* *om. α* [61] ut vid. *Cα* *om. Aβ* [62] dum *Cαβ* dum *A* [63] Act. *Cαβ* apostolus Act. *A* [64] *in A is add. below the col. 263ᵈ:* Nota fundamentum pulcrum ex scriptura pro religionibus privatis ex Paulo Actis 26 *A²* [65] quia *Cα* quod *Aβ*

religionis vixit phariseus.[66] Sed si sic sumatur[67] religio privata,[68] **ivoce** sumitur ab eo modo, quo sumunt ipsi eam,[69] qui distin-**unt religiones** privatas essencialiter a se invicem et a communi **igione** pure[70] ewangelica perfectorum, et per consequens equi-**:e sumitur ab** eo modo, quo in argumentis et responsionibus su-**:ius** factis sumitur.

CAP. V.

Sexto arguit sic: religio privata est status[1] securior quam **ıtus** prelacie, quod non foret verum, nisi foret[2] secundum omnem **am** condicionem[3] essencialem laudabilis, ergo sic est.

Consequenciam dicit patere,[4] et assumptum arguit sic: status **elacie** est periculosior religione privata, eo quod secundum Augu-**inum ad** Valerianum[a] et ponitur in Canone dist. 40[5] capitulo[b]: 'Ante **nnia',** nichil est in hac vita et maxime in hoc tempore difficilius, **:riculosius** et laboriosius[6] episcopi aut presbyteri officio, ergo re-**;io** privata est minus periculosa quam status prelacie; et cum pro-**ırcionaliter** ut status est minus periculosus,[7] est securior, sequitur, dicit, quod religio privata est securior quam status prelacie.

Hic oportet premittere quandam supposicionem de statu mo-**sterii**[8], quod aliquando capitur personaliter[9] pro statu huiusmodi,

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CAP. V. [a] *cp. August. (edit. of the Bened.) Ep. ad Valer. No. 21*
[b] *Decret. Grat. 1 P. Dist. XL cap. 7: Non ordinis, sed vitae merita nos Deo commendant. Ante omnia peto ut cogitet religiosa prudentia tua, nichil esse in hac vita et maxime in hoc tempore facilius et levius et hominibus acceptabilius episcopi aut presbyteri aut diaconi officio, si perfunctorie atque adulatorie res agatur sed nichil apud Deum miserius et tristius et dampnabilius, cp. Corp. iur. canon. ed. Richter-Friedberg (Leipzig 1879) P. I p. 146*

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[66] phariseus *ACβ* franciscus *α* [67] sumatur *ACα* summatur *β* [68] pri-a *ACα* private *β* [69] eam *ACα*,$β^2$ *add. above the line* *om. β* [70] pure *β* *om. A*

CAP. V. [1] status *Cα* *om. Aβ* [2] ni. fo. *Cα* *om. Aβ* [3] su. co. *ACβ* con. *α* [4] patere *Cαβ* tenere seu patere *A* [5] 40 *has undergone a correction in β* . e. l. *Cα* l. e. p. *Aβ* [7] min. per. *Cαβ* periculosus minimus *A* [8] *in A add. in mar.:* prelacie A^1 *in C in mar.:* Responsio C^1 [9] personaliter *Aαβ* sone *C, (cr. out), but in mar.* personaliter C^2 *(?)*

cui accidit status virtuose conversacionis sibi debitus, quo mo sumitur a beato Petro *(I)* Petri 2,[c] dum precipit servis obedire d minis discolis, et aliquando sumitur simpliciter pro aggregato[10] e huiusmodi statu et statu[11] virtuose conversacionis sibi debito, q modo sumitur a beato Augustino IV de Civitate Dei cap. 4, du dicit,[d] quod reges sine iusticia sunt tyranni.

Supposito[12] secundo, quod in dicto argumento sumatur stat prelacie pro statu prelacie secundo modo dicto, quibus duobus sup positis dicitur negando, quod religio privata est securior quam stat prelacie, et ad probacionem eius cum sic arguitur: status prelacie e periculosior religione privata, dicitur hoc negando, sumendo statum prelacie pro statu prelacie secundo modo dicto. Nec oppositum huius asserit beatus[13] Augustinus in auctoritate preallegata, licet in ipsa asserat, quod status prelacie primo modo dictus, dum caret[14] statu virtuose conversacionis sibi debito, est status periculosissimus in hoc mundo.

Ex quo patet, quod proporcionaliter, ut[15] status aliquis est virtuosior, est securior, quia a peccato elongacior.

Secundo patet, quod status prelacie secundo modo dictus est status securissimus in hoc mundo eo, quod est status perfectissimus et maxime meritorius in hoc mundo, dicente beato[16] Augustino in dicta auctoritate, quod nullum officium viatoris est apud deum beacius officio episcopi aut presbyteri, si eo modo militetur, quo noster imperator iubet etc.[17]

|| O fol. 188a || Tercio patet, quod nemo est dominus, sacerdos vel religiosus ni

[c] *v. 18* [d] *cp. August. Opp. Tom. VII, De civ. Dei, lib. II, cap. XXI p. 49 C: Cum vero iniustus est rex, quem tyrannum more Graeco appellavit etc. W. has, I believe, this passage in view; his own quotation (lib. IV cap. IV p. 90 G) reads: Remota itaque iustitia, quid sunt regna nisi latrocinia? quia et ipsa latrocinia quid sunt nisi parva regna?*

[10] *in A is add. below the col. 263d:* Nota: status prelacie capitur dupliciter, uno modo personaliter, alio modo aggregative *A²* [11] et st. *Cα om. Aβ* [12] supposito *αC (!)* suppono *Aβ* [13] beatus *ACα* huius *(cr. out)* beat. *β* [14] caret *Cαβ* facta *(cr. out)* car. *A* [15] ut *Cαβ* nec *A* [16] beato *Cα* dicto *Aβ* [17] etc. *Cα om. Aβ*

ι dominii,[18] sacerdocii vel religionis secundo modo dicto, dum t in mortali crimine.[19]

Quarto patet, quod religio privata non est status securissimus oc[20] mundo, eo, quod, cum sit essencialiter culpabilis, non est ime elongatus a peccato.

Quinto patet, quod status sacerdotalis parochialis secundo o sumptus est status perfeccior, meritorior et securior religione ata, eo, quod includit in se statum alciorem virtuose conver- ɔnis, propter quem suscipiendum debet religiosus privatus abi- vitam religionis private, testante beato Hieronymo[e] et ponitur ;anone 16, qu. I[21]: 'Sic vive', ubi sic hortatur rusticum mo- ιum: sic, inquit, vive in monasterio, ut clericus i. e. secundum ım[22] curatus esse merearis. Cui concordat beatus Augustinus[f] Ǝudoxium[23] et ponitur in Canone 16 qu. I[g]: 'Vos autem fra- ubi sic alloquitur religiosos privatos: vos, inquit, fratres ex- ιmur in domino, ut propositum vestrum custodiatis et[24] usque ıem perseveretis, scilicet secundum racionem, qua propositum

[e] *cp. Hieronym. ad Rusticum Monach. ep. CXXV ed. Migne No. 17*
[f] *Corp. iur. can. Decreti II P. CXVI qu. 1, cap. XXVI: Digne in monasterio vivens per populi electionem ad clericatum poterit promoveri. Sic vive in monasterio, ut clericus esse merearis, cp. Corp. iur. can. ed. Richter-Friedberg (Leipz. 1879), I, p. 768*   [g] *cp. August. Opp. (edit. of the Bened.) Ep. 48, No. 2*   [g] *Corp. iur. can. Decr. II p. C. XVI cap. XXX: vos autem fratres exhortamur in Domino, ut propositum vestrum custodiatis, et usque ad finem perseveretis, ac si qua opera vestra mater ecclesia desideraverit nec elatione avida suscipiatis nec blandiente desidia respuatis, sed miti corde obtemperetis Deo, cum mansuetudine portantes eum, qui vos regit, qui dirigit mites in iudicio, qui docet mansuetos vias suas. Nec vestrum ocium ecclesiae necessitatibus preponatis, cui parturienti si nulli boni ministrare vellent, quomodo nasceremi non inveniretis, vgl. Corp. iur. can. ed. Richter-Friedberg (Leipz. 1879), Decr. P. I p. 769*

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[18] dominii *Cα,β (cr. out)* *om. A*   [19] *in A below col. 264ª there is a gloss, possibly refers to this passage:* Nota hic de peccato mortali, quod non tollit ım. Puto, quod hic loquitur caute, alibi dicit oppositum *A¹*   [20] hoc *Cαβ* · *A*   [21] 1 *ACα*   5 *β*   [22] glossam *C (?) αβ*   gloriam *(?) A*   [23] Endoxum *α* ɕium *A*   Ondoxium *β*   *om. C, but in mar.* ad endoxum *C²*   [24] et *Aαβ*   in nino *(ud.)* et *C*

ipsum fundatur in scriptura sacra, et sequitur, ac[25] si qua[26] ope vestra mater ecclesia desideraverit in prelacione, scilicet superi vel[27] inferiori nec elacione avida suscipiatis, scilicet vos importu in gerendo neque blandiente[28] desidia respuatis, sed miti cor obtemperetis deo neque ocium vestrum necessitatibus ecclesie pro ponatis, cui parturienti, si nulli boni ministrare vellent, scilicet in prelacione, quomodo nasceremini, non inveniretis.

Ex quo dicto patet, quod eque legittime potest[29] rector vel vicarius indigens socio ad iuvandum eum in curia[30] sua requirere sacerdotem habilem[31] religionis private sicut[32] sacerdotem habilem secularem,[33] et eque legittime debet huiusmodi sacerdos religionis private obedire huiusmodi requisicioni sicut sacerdos secularis.

Patet secundo ex eodem, quod sacerdotes simplices, tam seculares quam claustrales, debent propter perfeccionem status prelacie in processionibus episcoporum permittere curatos[34] inferiores immediate sequi suos episcopos, qui curati gerunt vicem maiorum discipulorum excellencius quam simplices sacerdotes, quia[35] ipsi curati gerunt vicem ipsorum[36] discipulorum,[37] in quantum ipsi discipuli sunt curati, et ipsi simplices sacerdotes non gerunt vicem ipsorum discipulorum, nisi[38] in quantum ipsi discipuli sunt sacerdotes.

CAP. VI.

Septimo arguit sic: lex iusta, secundum racionem qua iusta, obligat peccatorem contempnere habere[1] licenciam dei pro licencia sufficienti ad confitendum peccata sua alieno sacerdoti pro beneficio sacramentalis absolucionis obtinendo, ergo per idem religio

[25] ac *has undergone a correction in* β [26] qua *ACα,β²* *add. above the line* *om.* β [27] vel *ACβ,α¹* *in mar.* et α [28] blandiente *Cα* blandienti *Aβ* [29] potest *Cβ* patet *Aα* [30] curia *C* cura *Aαβ* [31] habilem *ACα,β²* *add. above the line* humilem β [32] sicut *ACα* obedire huiusmodi *(underlined)* sicut β [33] sec. *Cαβ* religionis private sec. *A* [34] curatos *αβ* curatas *AC* [35] quia *Cαβ²* qui *A* *om.* β [36] ipsorum *ACβ²* *om.* *αβ* [37] excellencius quam — discipulorum *ACα* *om.* β, *but add. above the line by* β² [38] nisi *Cαβ* non *A*

CAP. VI. [1] habere *Cα* *om.* *A,β, but here* habere *is add. by* β¹, *then again cr. out by* β²

a, secundum racionem qua iusta, potest obligare subditum in contempnere habere licenciam dei pro licencia sufficienti ad iandum in religiosis ritibus pro debita execucione religionis comnis et per consequens[2] non ex hoc, quod religio privata sic obit, est ipsa culpabilis.

Patet consequencia, ut dicit, et antecedens extra de Penitenciis Remissionibus cap.[3]: ‖ 'Omnis utriusque',[a] ubi sic habetur: si quis ‖ *C fol. 188b* tem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa sua confiteri pecta,[4] licenciam prius postulet et obtineat, cum[5] aliter ipse illum n possit solvere vel ligare.

Hic dicitur negando, quod lex iusta secundum racionem, qua ; iusta, obligat peccatorem contempnere habere licenciam dei o sufficienti licencia ad confitendum peccata sua[6] alieno sacerti pro beneficio sacramentalis absolucionis obtinendo. Nec istud serit lex allegata, cum verbum illud 'obtineat'[7] intelligi debet m hac condicionali 'si poterit'. — Ex quo sequitur, quod[8] vois confiteri iusta[9] de causa alieno sacerdoti pro beneficio absocionis sacramentalis[10] obtinendo petens pro complecione ipsius luntatis[11] licenciam sui proprii sacerdotis, et cum hoc non valens am obtinere potest in isto casu ex[12] pura licencia dei illud ere.

Secundo sequitur, quod, sicut peccator volens ex iusta causa

CAP. VI. [a] *Corp. iur. can. Decret. Gregor. IX l. V tit. XXXVIII cap. XII: Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio sacerdoti..... Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa sua confiteri peccata, licentiam prius postulet et obtineat a proprio sacerdote, quum aliter ipse illum non possit absolvere vel ligare etc. Cp. Corp. iur. can. ed. Richter-Friedberg (Leipzig 1879) P. II, p. 887. The general title of XXXVIII is: De Poenitentiis et Remissionibus*

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[2] et p. c. *ACα om. β, but add. in mar. by β*[2] [3] remissionibus *Aβ* remisap. *Cα* [4] si q. a. a. s. v. i. d. c. s. c. p. *Cα* si q. i. d. c. a. s. v. s. p. c. *Aβ* m *Cα,β*[2] *add. above the line* vel *Aβ* [6] sua *ACβ om. α* [7] obtineat *Cαβ* otimeat *A* [8] *in β there is an erasure above* quod [9] iusta *Cα,β (here a ection has taken place (β*[2]*)* ista *A* [10] ab. sa. *Cα* sa. ab. *Aβ* [11] vol. ? *om. α* [12] ex *has undergone a correction by β*[2]

confiteri alieno sacerdoti pro beneficio sacramentalis[13] absolucionem obtinendo, non debet contempnere petere licenciam proprii sacerdotis pro obtentu ipsius licencie ad hoc. Sic[14] subditus in religione privata, volens ex iusta causa variare in ritibus religiosis pro debita execucione religionis communis, non debet contempnere petere licenciam sui prelati sub deo pro obtentu ipsius licencie[15] ad ipsam variacionem faciendam.

Tercio sequitur, quod, licet non sit de necessitate salutis, cuilibet fideli discreto peccanti mortaliter, quod confiteatur ore semel in anno proprio sacerdoti sub deo vel eius vicem ordinariam gerenti omne peccatum suum mortale pro beneficio sacramentalis absolucionis obtinendo, vel quod recipiat in paschate eucharistiam, tamen est de necessitate salutis cuilibet huiusmodi[16] fideli,[17] quod non contempnat finaliter confiteri ore semel in anno proprio suo sacerdoti sub deo vel vicem eius[18] ordinariam gerenti omne peccatum mortale suum pro beneficio absolucionis sacramentalis obtinendo,[19] vel recipere in paschate[20] eucharistiam.

Patet prima pars[21] per hoc, quod non est de necessitate salutis cuilibet homini fideli, quod non sit mutus vel quod non moriatur in anno illo, quo incipit habere discrecionem ante pascha.

Et secunda pars patet[22] per hoc, quod est[23] de necessitate salutis cuilibet[24] huiusmodi[25] fideli, quod non moriatur in aliquo peccato mortali, et finaliter sic contempnere est mori in peccato mortali.

Ex quo patet quarto, quod, quando Augustinus II[26] de Visitacione Infirmorum sic[b] scribit[27]: non te seducat sompniancium

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[b] *cp. Aug. Opp. Tom. VI De Visit. Infirm. lib. II cap. IV p. 257 E: non seducat te somniantium illa superstitio, quae in visitando confirmat, quia salvat sacerdote inconsulto ad Deum peccatorum confessio*

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[13] sacramentalis *Cαβ* secularis *(?) A* [14] sic *αβ* sit *(?) AC* [15] licencie *Cαβ* licencia *A* [16] huiusmodi *Cα* homini *Aβ* [17] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota *A'* [18] v. e. *Cα* e. v. *Aβ* [19] obtin. *Cαβ* acquirendo *A* [20] paschate *C* paschata *Aαβ* [21] Pa. pr. pars *ACβ* pr. pars p. *α* [22] patet *Cα* *om. Aβ* [23] est *ACα* *om. β* [24] cu. *ACα* est cu. *β* [25] huiusmodi *Cα* homini *Aβ* [26] II *Cαβ* *om. A* [27] *in A is add. in mar.:* Augustinus de confessione *A'*, *but this marginal gloss ought to stand a few lines further on, cp. p. 509 l. 10*

ipersticio illa, que mussitat, quia salvat ad deum peccatorum con-ssio, sacerdote inconsulto. Non asserit per illa verba, quod est upersticio sompniancium asserere, quod ad deum peccatorum con-essio[28] non consulens sacerdotem proprium sub deo pro sua satis-accione sacramentali salvat, licet asserat per illa, quod est super-ticio sompniancium asserere, quod ad deum peccatorum confessio ontempnens finaliter consulere sacerdotem proprium sub deo pro ua satisfaccione sacramentali salvat.

Ex quo patet quinto, quod verba Augustini super Psalterium,[c] quibus sic loquitur ad peccatorem[29]: si non confessus lates, incon-fessus dampnaberis,[30] debent intelligi hoc modo: quod si peccator lateat in tenebra superbie contempnens finaliter ‖ confiteri proprio ‖ C fol. 189a sacerdoti sub deo seu eius vicem ordinariam gerenti, inconfessus dampnabitur.

Sexto patet ex predictis,[31] quod nemo conteritur de peccato mortali, quod commisit, nisi cum hoc confiteatur deo et ab eo sa-cramentaliter reconcilietur. Probacio huius stat in hoc, quod nemo sic conteritur, nisi cum hoc confiteatur mente deo et voluntarie suscipiat ab eo onus ad faciendum et paciendum, quidquid deus vlt, quod faciat vel paciatur in hoc mundo vel alio, tamquam enitenciam integram satisfaccionis sacramentantem[32] perfecte pe-itenciam satisfaccionis Cristi. Et cum omnis huiusmodi[33] suscepcio it perfecta sacramentalis reconciliacio, sequitur conclusio.

Ex quo patet, quod non omnis sacramentalis reconciliacio est

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[c] *cp. August. Opp. Tom. IV Enarr. in Psalm. LXVI p. 660, F: quid timetis confiteri et in confessione vestra cantare canticum novum cum omni terra, in omni terra, in pace catholica confiteri times, Deus ne confessum damnet? Si non confessus lates, confessus damnaberis (with ref. to this there is a note below: Editi ,non confessus damnaberis'. Expunge ,non', quod abest a MSS). Times confiteri, qui non confitendo esse non potes occultus: damnaberis tacitus, quia posses liberari confessus*

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[28] confessio *ACβ om. α* [29] *in A is add. above col. 264[d]:* De confessione Augustini *A[1]* [30] dampnaberis *ACα* dampneberis *β* [31] predictis *C,α here* pre *as later been add.* dictis *Aβ* [32] sacramentantem *Cα* sacramentalem *Aβ* [33] huiusmodi *ACα* huius *β*, *but corr. into* huiusmodi *by β[2]*

denunciacio,[34] qua contritus denunciatur[35] esse realiter absol a deo, cum aliqua huiusmodi sit voluntaria suscepcio satisfacci integre tamquam sacramenti perfecti satisfaccionis Cristi, et aliqua suscepcio satisfaccionis parcialis tamquam sacramenti imperfecti sa faccionis Cristi; quorum sacramentum primum suscipit peniten deo et secundum a sacerdote sub deo, qui propter suam ignoranci non valet ministrare penitenti integram satisfaccionem tamqu perfectum sacramentum penitencie sive[36] satisfaccionis Cristi.

CAP. VII.

Ex quo videtur, quod sicut deus propter defectum scien in papa non constituit vicarium suum papam[1] ad ministrand penitenti periodum integri sacramenti penitencie, sic propter[2] e dem defectum non constituit eum vicarium suum ad remittend ipsi[3] penitenti partem ipsius periodi, et per consequens non c stituit eum vicarium suum ad remittendum penitenti[4] period pene purgatorii[5] alterius mundi, cum periodus pene[6] purgat alterius mundi sit periodus magne partis integri sacramenti pe tencie sive satisfaccionis Cristi, licet constituat eum servum su ad merendum sibi et aliis penitentibus abbreviacionem pene p gatorie alterius mundi.

Cum enim papa, quem quidam vocant catholice subpap propter appropriacionem istorum nominum: 'papa', 'dominus', 're 'magister', 'caput', 'summus pontifex' et similium[7] Cristi,[8] qu secundum eos Cristus fecit in nova lege, dum sic dixit discipu suis Matth.[9] 23[10][a]: vos autem nolite vocari[11] rabbi, non del

CAP. VII. [a] *v. 8*

[34] denunciacio *ACβ* de necessario *α* [35] denunciatur *ACβ* denecessitatu
[36] sive *Cα* *om. Aβ*

CAP. VII. [1] vic. su. pa. *Cα* pa. vi. su. *β* vi. su *A* [2] propter *C* per *A* [3] ipsi *Cα* *om. Aβ* [4] partem ips. p., et p. c. n. c. e. v. s. ad r. *ACα* *om. β, but add. later above the col. by β²* [5] purgatorii *ACβ* purga rie *α* [6] pene *Cαβ* *om. A* [7] similium *Cβ* similimum *α* similitudinem [8] Cristi *ACα* Cristo *β* [9] Mt. *ACα* Mr. *β* [10] 23 *α* *om. A (there is a bl space left for the number), Cβ* [11] vocari *ACα,β²* *in mar.* *om. β*

acere indulgencias hominibus de penitencia huiusmodi,[12] terminando[13] secundum suam[14] ignoranciam ante mortem eorum penitenciam, quam debent facere in hoc mundo, a pari vel a[15] forciori non debet facere indulgencias hominibus de penitencia alterius mundi, terminando secundum suam ignoranciam ante[16] terminum a deo constitum penitenciam, quam debent facere in futuro mundo. Nec ex hac sentencia sequitur, quod deus non posset constituere papam vicarium suum ad ministrandum penitenti periodum integri sacramenti penitencie ad remittendum ei[17] illam et partes eius, licet ex dicta sentencia sequatur, quod deus non posset sic constituere papam vicarium suum, nisi cum hoc conferret[18] sibi noticiam ad cognoscendum suam voluntatem in hiis punctis et[19] ad denunciandum[20] conformiter ipsi voluntati.

Ex quo patet, quod papa habet potestatem, cum qua posset, habita sufficienti || noticia ministrare penitenti[21] periodum integri || *C fol. 189b* sacramenti penitencie et remittere ei illam, licet non habeat potestatem, cum qua debet facere huiusmodi ministracionem, dum huiusmodi noticia sibi deest.

Ex quo sequitur ulterius, quod verba paparum, quibus videntur[22] remittere sive indulgere certos annos satisfaccionis post[23] hanc vitam omnibus vere contritis et confessis, qui tale opus meritorium vel tale faciunt,[24] intelligi debent[25] de reputativa[26] remissione et non de certa remissione, de qua[27] per ante[b] locutum est, dum[28] dicitur, quod deus[29] non constituit papam vicarium suum ad remittendum, scilicet[30] certa remissione penitenti periodum integri sacramenti penitencie.

[b] *cp. above cap. VII p. 510*

[12] huiusmodi *Cα* huius mundi *Aβ* [13] terminando *Cαβ* toriando *A* [14] suam *αβ* quam *AC* [15] a *ACα* *om. β, but add. into the text by* β^2 [16] ante *Aβ* aut *Cα* [17] ei *has undergone a correction in β* [18] conferret *ACα* conferet *β* [19] et *Cα,β but here ud. by* β^2 *om. A* [20] denunciandum *Aβ* denecessitandum *(!)* *Cα* [21] min. pen. *Cαβ* *om. A* [22] videntur *β* *om. ACα* [23] post *Cα,β here corr. from* patet *by the texthand* patot *A* [24] faciunt *ACα* facere *β, cr. out by* β^2, *and* faciunt *is corr. into the text by* β^2 [25] debent *Aβ* debet *Cα* [26] reputativa *Cβ* representativa *(!) A* reputacoetiva (coe *ud. — the scribe was going to write* reputacione) *α* [27] qua *Cαβ* quibus *A* [28] dum *ACβ* cum *α* [29] deus *α* *om. ACβ* [30] scilicet *AC* sed *αβ*

Nec obviat huic sentencie, sed consonat cum ea, quod[31] i homine discreto, dum hic vivit, est duplex penitencia,[32] scilic spiritualis, que consistit in odio peccati, quam Cristus ministrad adultere, de qua Ioh. 8,[c] et corporalis penitencia, que consistit i ieiunio et[33] oracione et elemosina, que prudenter a sacerdote mini strantur, dum ministrantur[34] in ea mensura penitenti, qua debe iuvare odium eius ad destruendum peccata carnalia, dyabolica mundana.

Septimo patet ex dictis, quod non quilibet sacerdos contritu de quolibet peccato suo mortali, quod commisit, nondum sacra mentaliter reconciliatus, a sacerdote sub Cristo debet sub pen peccati mortalis recipere beneficium huiusmodi sacramentalis abso lucionis, antequam[35] celebret[36] vel comedat eucharistiam,[37] licet qui libet huiusmodi sacerdos debet sub pena peccati mortalis non con tempnere recipere beneficium huiusmodi sacramentalis absolucionis, antequam celebret vel comedat eucharistiam.

Secunda pars huius satis claret, et prima videtur clarere per hoc, quod tunc eque necessaria esset sacramentalis absolucio sacerdotis sub Cristo a crimine occulto pro baptizato[38] peccatore contrito ad digne comedendum eucharistiam, sicut est sacramentalis absolucio Cristi, a crimine occulto pro baptizato peccatore contrito ad digne comedendum[39] eucharistiam,[40] quod esset nimis[41] onerosum fidelibus, et specialiter curatis ruralibus, quibus deficit frequenter copia sacer dotum habilium, a quibus prudenter valent[42] huiusmodi absolu cionem accipere.

Octavo patet, quod licet fratres admissi ab episcopis iuxt cap.[d]: 'Dudum', possent[43] libere ministrare parochianis[44] ipsorum

[c] *v. 11* [d] *cp. Corp. iur. canon Decr. p. II C. XVIII qu. I cap. XXV p. 837: qui in sacro sunt ordine constituti in monasteri*

[31] quod *ACα* que *β* [32] *in C is add. in mar.:* Duplex penitencia *C¹* *in in mar.:* Penitencia est duplex, scilicet spiritualis et corporalis *β³* [33] et *Cα* *om. A* [34] dum min. *Cα* *om. Aβ* [35] antequam *Cαβ* anquam *A (compend. om.)* [36] cel bret *Cαβ* celebrat *A* [37] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota *A¹* [38] baptizato *Cα,β (he corr. from* -ta) baptisata *A* [39] comedendum *Cα* manducandum *A* *om. β* [40] si cut est sacr. — com. eucharist. *ACα* *om. β* [41] nimis *Cαβ* minus *A* [42] vale *Cαβ* valet*(?) A* [43] possent *ACα* possint *β* [44] parochianis *αβ* parachianis *A*

coporum beneficium absolucionis sacramentalis, quod[45] tenentur, valent, recipere semel in anno iuxta cap.[e]: 'Omnis utriusque',[46] a ipsi parochiani volentes recipere ipsum beneficium ab eis non bent contempnere ipsum[47] ab eis[48] ex precedente licencia petita obtenta[49] suorum propriorum curatorum.

Probat autem istud[50] satis diffuse dominus Armacanus[51] in ctatu suo de ista materia contra errores fratrum per multa empla, quorum unum est tale: fratres habent privilegium, quod seunt in suis locis libere predicare quibuscunque volentibus[52] cedere ad eorum sermones et tamen cum toto isto privilegio c Carthusienses nec Moniales[f][53] volentes accedere ad eorum sermones debent contempnere facere ipsum accessum ex precedente encia petita et obtenta[54] suorum superiorum. Sic in proposito et fratres habeant tale || privilegium, quod possunt libere mini- || *C fol. 190a* rare etc., tamen[55] ipsi parochiani volentes recipere ipsum beneficium ab eis non debent propter obligacionem eorum ad servanum cap.[e]: 'Omnis utriusque' contempnere recipere ipsum[56] ab eis x[57] precedente licencia petita et obtenta[58] suorum propriorum uratorum.

CAP. VIII.

Octavo arguit sic: religio privata est essencialiter perfeccior, meritorior et securior quam status secularis, quod non foret verum,

nullam habeant potestatem. Dudum ad nos multorum relatione pervenerat etc. Hortamur ergo, ut omni mora omnique excusatione summota ita monasteria ipsa ab huiuscemodi studeatis gravamine relevare, quatinus nullam deinceps in eis clerici vel qui in sacro ordine sunt constituti ob aliud (nisi hortandi tantum modo causa) accedendi habeant licenciam, aut si forte ad peragenda sacra missarum fuerint invitati misteria etc. [e] *cp. above cap. VI note a* [f] *i. e. the Sanctimoniales, cp. above p. 284 note e*

[45] quod *Cαβ* quo *A* [46] ut. *ACα* ut. sexus *β* [47] ips. *Cαβ* recipere ips. *A* [48] non deb. c. i. ab e. *ACα* *om. β* [49] obtenta *β* abtenta *A* optenta *Cα* [50] istud *Cα* hoc *Aβ* [51] Armacanus *α* Armocanus *ACβ* [52] volentibus *Cα* volentes A,*β (?)* [53] Moniales *Aαβ* Momales *C* [54] obtenta *β* abtenta *A* optenta *Cα (cp. note 49)* [55] tamen *Cαβ* cum *A* [56] ipsum *ACβ* *om. α* [57] ex *ACα* *om. β* [58] obtenta *ACβ* optenta *α (cp. nn. 49 and 54)*

nisi secundum omnem suam condicionem essencialem foret laudabili ergo sic est.

Consequenciam dicit patere, et assumptum sic arguit: stat claustralis est essencialiter perfeccior, securior et meritorior[1] qu status secularis eo, quod ex approbacione sancte matris ecclesie et informacione sanctorum doctorum a tempore incepcionis status cla stralis usque modo seculares[3] propter maiorem perfeccionem essen cialem et maius meritum acquirendum ad statum claustralem tam quam ad statum supererogacionis essencialiter plus perfectum[4] con fluxerunt. Et cum[5] omnis status claustralis sit religio privata, se quitur, ut dicit, assumptum probandum.

Hic dicitur negando, quod religio privata est essencialiter per feccior, meritorior et securior quam status secularis, et ad probacionem cum[6] sic arguitur[7]: status claustralis est essencialiter perfeccior, meritorior et securior quam status secularis, dicitur eciam hoc ne gando nec probat[8] hoc proposicio ipsa, que pro[9] eius probacio assumitur, et racio est,[10] quia duo sunt status seculares, unus im perfectorum et alius perfectorum.[11] Unde licet seculares, qui sunt in primo statu laudabiliter, confluunt ad statum claustralem per fectorum tamquam ad statum supererogacionis essencialiter plus perfectum, non tamen ex hoc sequitur, quod seculares, qui sunt in secundo statu perfectorum, scilicet[12] laudabiliter confluunt ad statum claustralem perfectorum tamquam[13] ad statum supererogacionis essencialiter plus perfectum, quamvis quandoque[14] laudabiliter confluunt ad ipsum tamquam ad statum supererogacionis plus accidentaliter perfectum,[15] sicut e contra quandoque laudabiliter

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CAP. VIII. [1] s. et m. *Cα* m. et s. *Aβ* [2] et *Cαβ* *om. A* [3] sec. in *β a corr. word* [4] ess. pl. pe. *C* pl. ess. p. *α* pl. per. ess. plus perfectum *A* pl. pe. ess. *β* [5] cum *ACα* tamen *β, but cr. out by* $β^3$ *and above it* cum $β^3$ [6] cum *Cα* eius cum *Aβ* [7] arguitur *Cα* arguit *Aβ* *in C is add. in mar.:* Responsio C^1 [8] eciam hoc neg. nec prob. *Cα* ec. quod neg. hoc prob. *A* eciam quo (quod *corr. into the text by* $β^2$) hoc negando non (non *cr. out by* $β^2$) probat *β* [9] pro *α* in *β* *om. AC* [10] est *Cα* *om. Aβ* [11] *in β in mar.:* Seculares status sunt duo $β^3$ [12] scilicet *C* *om. Aαβ* [13] laudab. confl. ad st. c. p. tamquam *AC* tamquam *α* (*therefore* laud. *etc.* — perf. *om.*) [14] quandoque *Cαβ* *om. A* [15] pl. acc. perf. *Cα* (*cp. note 4*) acc. pl. pe. *A* accidentaliter (*ud.*) pl. p. *β*

nfluunt claustrales ad statum secularem perfectorum tamquam d statum supererogacionis accidentaliter plus perfectum, que per ccidens perfeccio quandoque contingit racione honestioris societatis el prelati melius regentis aut alterius consimilis causa.

Ex quo patet, quod cristianus observans perfeccionem ewangelii xtra claustrum corporale non dicitur secularis, quia vivit essencia-liter imperfeccius[16] cristiano observante perfeccionem ewangelii in laustro, sed huiusmodi cristianus[17] dicitur secularis, quia exclau-traliter, ad quem sensum fuerunt Cristus et sui apostoli cum aliis perfecte eos imitantibus[18] seculares. Nec contrariatur huic sen-tencie dictum Augustini[a] positum in Canone 12, qu. 1, cap.: 'Certe',[b] n quo vocat clericos seculares claudos, quia in ipso dicto non vocat os claudos, quia sunt in statu essencialiter imperfecciori,[19] quam est status claustralium, sed quia in diebus suis ut communiter non excellenter perfecte observabant[20] perfeccionem ewangelii.

Secundo patet, quod nullus ingressus || in statum claustralem *C fol. 190 b* perfectorum preponi debet in perfeccione essenciali cuicunque alteri satisfaccioni, cum non debet sic preponi satisfaccioni facte pro in-gressu[21] in statum secularem perfectorum.

Tercio patet, quod status secularis perfectorum eque vel ex-cellencius habet hanc prerogativam, ut secundum baptisma nun-cupetur, sicut ipsam habet status claustralis perfectorum.

CAP. VIII. [a] *August. in serm. II de communi Vita Clericorum. (Opp., tom. V, Serm. CCCLVI p. 1384)* [b] *Corp. iur. can. Decret. p. II C. XII qu. 1 cap. XVIII p. 683: Clericatus non tollitur eis, qui volunt habere aliquid proprium. — Certe ego sum, qui statueram, nullum ordinare clericum, nisi qui mecum vellet manere, ut si vellet a proposito discedere, recte illi tollerem clericatum. Ecce in conspectu Dei et vestro muto consilium. Qui volunt aliquid habere proprium, quibus non sufficit Deus et ecclesia eius, maneant, ubi volunt et ubi possunt, non eis aufero clericatum, nolo habere ypocritas. Malum esse quis nesciat? Malum est cadere a proposito, sed peius est simulare propositum.*

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[16] imperfeccius *ACα* inperfeccius *β*, *but in cr. out, above it again* im *β*[3] [17] crist. *Cαβ* secl. *(sd.)* crist. *A* [18] imitantibus *Cα* sequentes *Aβ* [19] im-perf. *ACβ* perfecciori *α* [20] observabant *Cαβ* abservabant *A*, *cp. cap. VII ss. 49, 54 and 58* [21] pro ingressu *ACα* per ingressum *β*

Quarto patet, quod secularis servans ex voto facto suo (scopo seu[22] ex voto facto pure deo perfeccionem ewangelii, c sistentem in paupertate, castitate et obediencia potest esse ut hui modi, ita perfectus religiosus, sicut est vel umquam fuit aliqui claustralis vel perfeccior, teste beato[24] Augustino in epistola Cives Hipponenses, ubi sic scribit: deum, inquit, contestor, qu ex quo deo servire inceperam, vix inveni meliorem aliquem[25] qu in claustro, sed absque dubio inveni[26] peiorem.

Quinto patet, quod sicut est religio privata claustralis p fectorum, sic est vel potest esse religio privata[27] secularis sive (claustralis perfectorum. Et a pari est vel potest esse religio priva tam[28] claustralis, quam exclaustralis imperfectorum.

Sexto patet, quod sicut sancti, qui instituerunt vel servaver religiones privatas, penituerunt perfecte ante mortem suam co ralem de omnibus peccatis suis magnis vel parvis, que umqu commiserunt,[29] sic in illa penitencia et in tempore ipsius peniten deseruerunt religiones suas privatas secundum racionem illam, (sunt posite extra mensuram illam, qua facilitant ad observanci communis perfeccionis ewangelice.

Septimo patet, quod in religione pure ewangelica est commu religio perfectorum, que est[30] religio pure ewangelica, observ ut huiusmodi communia mandata dei et consilia eius perfectis c sulta, cuiusmodi est consilium de virginitate cum sibi similibus. In eadem est eciam[31] communis religio imperfectorum, que religio pure ewangelica, observans ut huiusmodi communia m data dei et consilia eius imperfectis consulta,[32] cuiusmodi est (silium de matrimonio cum[33] sibi similibus.[34] — Tercio in ea est communissima religio cristianorum observans ut[35] huiusm

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[c] *cp. Augustini Opp. (edit. of the Bened.), tom. II Ep. LXXVII*

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[22] seu *Cα* vel *Aβ* [23] aliquis *ACα* aliqualis *β* [24] beato *ACβ* ([25] aliquem *ACα* aliquam *β* [26] inv. *AC* non inv. *αβ* [27] pr. *ACβ* ([28] tam *Cαβ* tamquam *A* [29] comiserunt *ACβ* comiserant *α* [30] est *om. β, but add. later into the text by β²* [31] est ec. *Cα* ec. est *Aβ* [32] sulta *αβ* inconsulta *AC* [33] cum *αβ* et *AC* [34] similibus *ACα* consi bus *β* [35] ut *Cαβ* *om. A*

communia mandata dei,[36] ad que servanda omnes homines obligantur. — Et quarto in eadem sunt quotquot religiones particulares tam perfectorum quam imperfectorum observantes ut huiusmodi ultra mandata dei et eius communia consilia particularia consilia suis, cuiusmodi sunt[37] consilium de surgendo media nocte ad laudandum deum cum sibi similibus quasi infinitis, per que videre potest fidelis cristianus, quod, licet religio particularis pure ewangelica et religio privata conveniant in multis ritibus, quoad[38] eorum substancias, tamen cum hoc[39] discrepant in eisdem, quoad mensuras, in quibus statuuntur, ut claret ex primis dictis. Unde propter istam discrepanciam dicunt quidam vere, quod religio privata ex hoc dicitur privata,[40] quod secundum aliquam eius racionem privatur laudabili fundamento in scriptura sacra. De qua scriptura II de Doctrina Cristiana sic commendabiliter loquitur beatus Augustinus[d]: quidquid, inquit, homo extra divinarum scripturarum scienciam didicerit, si noxium est illi,[41] dampnatur, || si utile est illi, invenitur, et cum || C fol. 191a ibi quisque invenerit omnia, que alibi utiliter didicit,[42] multo habundancius inveniet ea, que nusquam omnino alibi, sed in[43] illarum scripturarum tantum[44] mirabili altitudine et mirabili humilitate discuntur.

Ex quibus omnibus[45] supradictis patet, quod, sicut non[46] quicunque approbatas vitas[47] Petri et Pauli reprobat,[48] ipsos et eorum vitam atque doctrinam dampnabiliter[49] blasphemat eo, quod deus et omnes[50] in celo beati reprobant[51] eorum approbatas vitas non

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[d] *cp. August. Opp. tom. III, De Doctr. christ. lib. II cap. XLII p. 44, C: .... si divinarum scripturarum scientiae comparetur. Nam quidquid homo extra illam didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur, si utile, ibi invenietur. Et cum ibi quisque invenerit omnia, quae utiliter alibi didicit, multo abundancius ibi inveniet ea, quae nusquam omnino alibi discuntur*

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[36] c. m. d. *Cα* m. d. c. *Aβ* [37] sunt *Cα* est *Aβ* [38] quoad *ACα* quot ad *β*, *but corr. into* quoad [39] hoc *Cαβ* hac *A* [40] *in β is add. in mar.:* Religio privata cur dicitur privata *β²* [41] illi *ACα* ibi *β²*, *corr. from* illi *which stood first* [42] didicit *ACβ* didicerit *α* [43] in *Cα* *om. Aβ* [44] scr. ta. *Cα* ta. scr. *Aβ* [45] omnibus *ACβ* omnia *α* [46] non *ACβ* *om. α* [47] vitas *ACβ* *om. α* [48] *in A is add. in mar.:* Reprobat *A²* [49] damp. *Cαβ* laudabiliter *(cr. out)* dampn. *A* [50] omnes *αβ, (a corr. word)* omnis *AC* [51] reprobant *Cαβ* reprobat *A*

secundum racionem, qua sunt laudabiles, sed secundum racionem, qua sunt culpabiles —, sic non, quicunque aliquas religiones privatas approbatas vel eorum institutores ex hoc opere[52] reprobat, sanctos dei et eorum vitam atque doctrinam dampnabiliter blasphemat, cum deus et omnes[53] in celo beati reprobant ipsas religiones et earum institutores,[54] non secundum racionem, qua[55] sunt laudabiles, sed secundum racionem, qua[55] sunt culpabiles.

Et patet in parte declaracio istius materie cum responsione fideli ad argumenta reverendi monachi etc.[56]

[52] ex h. op. *Cαβ* *om. A* [53] omnes *β* omnis *ACα*, *cp. n. 50* [54] institutores *Cαβ* institores *A* [55] qua *in β corr. from* quia [56] monachi etc. *C* mon. supradicti *Aα* mon. supradicti etc. *β*, *here* supradicti *is corr. from* supradicta *without Expl. in all the codd. in C follows:* De gradibus cleri eccl. *in A:* Epist. de octo questionibus pulcris. *Inc.* Amice preclare, ex scripturis vestris concipio *etc. in β the following line — there is no Title or Incipit — begins thus:* Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium, *it is de ninth book of Wiclif's Summa with the separate title: De Apostasia.*

XX.

DE RELIGIONE PRIVATA.

TRACTATUS ALTER.

DE RELIGIONE PRIVATA II.

I. Division.

I. Introduction: General argument against private religions, chap. I.
II. Refutation of the theses, put forward by the 'dominus', chap. I—IV.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *Thesis: Is the institution of monastical Orders (the* **eligio privata)** *a divine, good work? p. 524.— It is not, otherwise Christ ould (1) have instituted them in the Gospel, and (2) would not have nt His disciples among the nations, but would have shut them up in e walls of a monastery, p. 524. Christ, therefore, ought not to be ken as an authority for the matter in question, neither as to the number — here the 12 disciples are compared with the many thousands of onks), nor as to the life of the Orders, whose pernicious traditions re often contrary to the simple preaching of the Word of God, . 525—526. It is therefore wrong to entice young men into the Orders, r no spiritual grace, moral virtue or genuine piety is acquired by e admission into them, p. 526—527.*

Chap. II. *Not the Orders, but the general christian religion ought be favoured, p. 527. Definition of the latter, p. 527. The asser-on* domini cuiusdam, *(1) that the general religion of Christ takes ly the* mandata *(not the* consilia) *of Christ as a rule of life, is rong, p. 527—528; for he who loves God with all his heart, also lfils the* consilia *(i. e. the three known monastical vows), p. 529. ikewise wrong is his opinion, that private religions as such oblige eir members to fulfil not only the* mandata, *but also the* consilia, *d eventually also the* precepta *of the holy Fathers. This is refuted the Author, p. 529—530.*

Chap. III. As a reason for the necessity of private religions some assert, (1) that they serve God in a nobler manner, and are, therefore, more perfect, than the ordinary members of Christ, p. 531. For (a) it is said, that the consilia *are their rule, p. 531; (b) that Christ with his 12 disciples was a member of them, p. 531 and (c) that there is no specific difference between the several single Orders, p. 531. — All this is wrong: for as to the first, its members are entangled in wordly affairs, therefore their service is false, p. 531—532; as to (b): Christ has founded only the general religion, as His words clearly show, p. 533. As to (c): there are differences in the very principles: rich and poor orders, secular and monastical clergy etc., p. 533.*

Chap. VI. In the second place it is asserted that for members of the Order it is easier to be saved. — Answer: by buying the canonisation nobody will be saved, p. 534. Thirdly it is said, that the obstacles to being saved are more easily removed within the Orders. — Answer: if this be true, then the founders of the Orders were more prudent than Christ the Lord Himself, p. 534—535. Cut and colour of the habit, eating, drinking, caps and other worldly peculiarities of the Order (breeding of swine etc.) are of no advantage for eternal life, p. 535.

From all these reasons the theses of the dominus *are to be repudiated, p. 536.*

III. Date of Composition.

The Tract is without any chronological evidence. Once there is a hint at the Pope as refuga *p. 535 l. 8; by this term, either Urban VI, who fled to Naples 1383 from Rome, cp. Ypod. Neust. 338, or Clement VII. is meant, who in 1379 took refuge in France before the followers of Urban, cp. Walsingh., H. A. I, 393. From the whole tone of the Tract, I am inclined to fix it in the last two or three years of W.'s life.*

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) cod. D, Incipit, see p. 524.
(2) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1471; 1502 (?).
(3) Shirley, Catal. No. 82 p. 27.
(4) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 567.

Internal evidence:

(1) *cp. above General Introduction V, e*[1].

(2) *cp. cap. I. note a; II, a; III, b; c; IV, b; d.*

V. *Unprinted heretofore.*

VI. *Extant in*

od. 4527 = C *fol.* 226^b—229^b { C^1 = *Corrector, thin hand*; C^2 = *Corrector* }

od. 3930 = D *fol.* 197^d—202^a { D^1 = *Glosser*; D^2 = *Corrector*; D^3 = *thick hand* (empcio) }

both being in the Imper. Libr. at Vienna;

od. X. E. 9. = α *fol.* 202^a—206^a α^1 = *Glosser*

the latter in the Univ.-Library at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

Only after having formed my text on the basis of cod. α, I had access in Vienna for a short time to the codices C and D, which I then collated. I was thus not able to undertake a critical examination of all three codices, and have printed the present text on the basis of all three Manuscripts, without giving preference to any.

I believe, however, to judge from a cursory glance, that C and D are in some way related to each other; with ref. to this, cp. besides the large consensus of both, in particular the following readings, cap. I, 12; 19; 20; III, 2, also IV, 15. The Text of D is more corrupted than that of C. C and α appear to me of equal value. — Characteristic for both is the monstrous form uach *cap. IV, p. 535 l. 17, which either indicates a common original for C and α, or that C is derived from α. — As to the orthography, it is curious that the scribe of C in this Tract as a rule writes* ti *instead of the general* ci *(*distinctionem, consolationem *etc.). — C has been corrected by two hands. In D there are the corrections, or additions of three hands to be noticed; here the text is in a large degree adorned with red commas.*

[1] *What I have said with ref. to this point above (see De Rel. Priv. I p. 486 ff.) against the genuineness of the latter Tract, may be, in general, adduced in favour of the present Treatise. I am rather inclined to suppose that from the genuineness of this so called Second Part of De Religione Privata, Shirley and others have concluded the genuineness also of the first part the matter of which curiously is in no way connected with the present Tract.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE RELIGIONE PRIVATA[1]

II.

CAP. I.

a fol. 202a lin. 23 Utrum religio privata[2] sit datum optimum, descendens a patre luminum, | per quod anima fidelis disponitur, ut salvetur.

Et videtur, quod non,[3] | quia tunc exprimeretur in aliquo verbo ewangelico, quod aliqualiter conti|net omnem veritatem.[a] Sed cum deus necessario agit ad extra secundum capacitatem subiecti, in sanctis prioribus magis capacibus religionem istam insereret, quod tamen non fecit. Patet, quod preter patrem luminum religiositas ista habuit aliam[4] originem. Non enim in toto ewangelio fundatur tacite vel expresse,[5] nisi loquar yronice, ut Matth. ultimo[b]: ita, docete omnes gentes. Voluit enim Cristus, quod quando eius discipuli erant plene instructi, non incarcerarentur claustraliter inter *| a fol. 202b* parietes, sed irent in orbem universum || ad ewangelice prodessendum ecclesie, nec haberent ad proprium claustrum reditum, cum Cristus non habuit vel suum tugurium.

CAP. I. [a] *The idea that the Holy Scripture contains all that is necessary for the salvation of mankind very often recurs in W.'s works cp. for instance above De Fundat. Sect. p. 26; also p. 298; again De Blasphemia, cod. 3933 (Vienna) fol. 118*[c]*, De Verit. Scr. p. cod. 129 fol. 1*[b]*: in illa consistit salus fidelium; also Arnold, S. E. W. II. 186: On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture* [b] *v. 19*

CAP. I. [1] *Without a title Ca* Posicio ewangelici doctoris *D*[1] *(or texthand) There is no division into chapters* [2] r. pr. *a* p. r. *CD* [3] *in D is add. in marg.* Arguit in oppositum *D*[1] [4] aliam *a* alienam *CD* [5] *in D is add. in marg.* Quod private religiones non sunt fundate in sacra scriptura *D*[1]

Et si dicatur,[6] quod claustrales nutriant suos discipulos sicut ristus, patet, quod deficiunt in numero et in modo. — Cristus im nutrivit solos duodecim,[7] quorum duodecimus, scilicet Scarioth, it pessimus. Que ergo blasphemia, quod patronus peccabilis nu-iat multa milia! Numquid est sufficiencior et sapiencior[8] Iesu risto, qui ad ponendum mensuram in grege pusillo istum duo-ecimum permisit[9] perire? Quot ergo milia credendum est peccare ravius in talibus conventibus, quam peccarent in seculo,[10] cum carioth cum magistro prudentissimo et collegio sanctissimo ita fecit.

Et quantum ad modum,[c] patet, quod per tradiciones suas mul-iplices excedunt infundabiliter legem Cristi. Cum ergo libertas tque facilitas illius legis debet observari in suis limitibus, videtur, quod presumentes sic stabilire hos novos ordines culpabiliter temp-tant deum.[11] Nemo enim debet quidquam facere,[12] nisi quod ex divina revelacione vel doctrina scripture[13] fuerit sibi notum, pro-desse ecclesie, sed ex neutro illorum est notum prelatis vel suis obligatis, quod talis inclaustracio foret eis utilis vel prodessens ecclesie, ergo debet omnino reticeri. Sic enim secundum Iaco-bum[d] homo debet esse tardus ad loquendum, sic quod non loquatur aliquod[14] nisi altero[15] istorum duorum modorum habeat evidenciam sic loquendi, ergo multo magis in religione perpetua, ubi foret maius[16] periculum, quam in brevi loquela.

Et quantum ad loquelam nedum Iacobus, sed beatus Petrus hortatur,[e] quod, si quis loquitur, videat, quod loquatur quasi ser-mones dei. Ubi ergo possunt fundari sermones de habitu corpo-rali, de nutibus et[17] aliis signis frivolis, que ultra regulam ewan-

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[c] *cp. above l. 2* [d] *1, 19* [e] *I Pet. 4, 11*

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[6] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ad obieccionem respondet *D¹* [7] *in C is add. in mar.:* Numerus [8] sapencior *CD* potencior *(cr. out)* sapiencior *α* [9] per-misit *CD* misit *α* [10] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quod sepius gravius peccant in claustro quam in seculo *D¹* [11] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quomodo stabilientes religiones temptant deum *D¹* [12] facere *CD* *om. α* [13] script. *Cα* fuerit *(cr. out & ud.)* script. *D* [14] aliquod *α* aliud *CD* [15] altero *Cα* alterorum (rum *ud. and cr. out) D* [16] maius *α,C, here corr. from* magis magis *D* [17] nutibus et *Cα* mitibus *D*

gelicam observantur? Ymo substancia regule, que ordinatur es[...] perpetua, non fundatur.

Grave quidem videtur, quod cristicole, quibus deus de[...] disposiciones tam dispares, sint ultra obligacionem Cristi tam an[...] obligati. Idem enim videtur sic obligare servos domini et mo[...] primi apostate innuere, quod anticristus habeat potestatem ultr[...] Cristum disposiciones mentis tribuere[18] et correspondenter ad ill[...] generaliter novas regulas stabilire.

Unde et sepe tetigi, in omnibus talibus privatis ordinibus eva-gatur consilium anticristi. Nam[19] fratrifactor vel procedit imperative
a fol. 203a vel consultative[20] vel se|ductive, quia nulli vel pauci sunt, quos fiendi fratres rogant, ut puro titulo elemosine faciant illos fratres. Primum autem membrum foret luciferina presumpcio, et secundum, coincidens cum tercio, foret stulta et presumpta seduccio. Nemo enim consuleret fratri suo nisi ad illud,[21] de quo est certus spi-ritum sanctum consulere, sed nullus frater non inspiratus ad hoc scit spiritum sanctum consulere, ut homo, quem alloquitur, fiat frater. Ergo non debet sic nude[22] ad illud consulere. Maior patet per[23] hoc, quod non debet specialiter in hiis, que concernunt salutem anime, voluntati divine contraire,[24] cum notum sit, quod consulente spiritu domini ad salutem et spiritu religiosi private consulente ad contrarium et sic ad dampnacionem,[25] foret anticristus expresse, quia contra regulas caritatis, quibus diligeret proximum sicut se ipsum, procuraret fratris stulte dampnacionem.

Nec dubium, quin multi fiunt de sectis istis privatis, qui ea[...] occasione gravius sunt dampnati. Cum ergo non ad tales introitus per se bonum virtutis vel[26] gracie consequatur, ut in baptismo et ceteris virtuosis[27] operibus, ad que lex Cristi consulit, videtur stultum et periculosum ad tales privatas vitas sine fundamento consulere.

[18] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quomodo obligantes vivere regulariter videntur dare mentis disposiciones *D¹* [19] nam *CD* vel *a* [20] consultative *a* consultive *CD* [21] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quod nemo debet consulere alteri claustrum ingredi *D* [22] nude *Ca* avide *D* [23] ex *CD* per *a* [24] *in C is add. in mar.:* contrarie *C* [25] dampn. *CD* ad *(ud.)* dampn. *a* [26] vel *CD* et *a* [27] virt. *Da* boni *(ud.)* virt. *C*

Si ergo talis fratrifactor debet esse tardus ad loquendum, et a isto, quod est scripture sacre sentencia, multo magis in periculoso[28] debet consultor ponere custodiam ori suo, quam, rogo, excusacionem haberet in die iudicii de dampnato? Cristus enim, eligens Scarioth, dedit sibi graciam secundum presentem iusticiam, et ille, occasione male[29] accepta, ex malicia propria est gravius dampnatus. Sed tales consilarii sic non possunt.

Ideo cavent prudentes in hiis, que concernunt salutem vel dampnacionem anime, dare consilium.

CAP. II.

Ex istis videtur, quod multi augentes religiones privatas sunt in hoc procuratores dyaboli et sui proximi seductores. Communis autem cristiana religio est cercior, melior et levior quam privata.[a] Qua ergo fronte consiliarius anticristi consuleret ad periculosius, gravius et imperfeccius, Cristi consilio pretermisso?

Unde quidam describunt religionem cristianam communem,[1] quod est illa, quam precepit Cristus, cuius proxima regula est in suo ewangelio expressata, ut in illo Luc. 12[2b]: sint lumbi vestri precincti, obligatur quilibet cristianus ad observanciam castitatis. Cristus enim more suo dat apostolis suis singulare principium, quod vult esse immediatam regulam suis fidelibus consequenter.

Sed quidam dominus describit[3] communem religionem cristianam, quod est religio pure obligans | naturam racionalem ad observanciam Cristi mandatorum, excludendo ab huiusmodi obligacione obligacionem ad observanciam trium principalium consiliorum Cristi, de paupertate, castitate et[4] obediencia. Et quod religio privata sit religio essencialiter obligans naturam racionalem ad observanciam tam mandatorum dei quam eius principalium consiliorum et acciden- | *a fol. 203b*

CAP. II. [a] *cp. Trial. 362; Purgat. above p. 304* [b] *v. 35*

[28] periculoso *Ca* periculosa *D* [29] male *a,D corr. from* mala mala *C*

CAP. II. [1] *In D is add. in mar.:* Descripcio religionis cristiane secundum quosdam *D[1]* [2] 2° *a (the number is corr., a 1 is erased)* 22° *C* 32 *(cr. out) D, above it* XII° *D[2], but with mark of ref. to* 32 *is add. in mar.* 20) [3] descr. *Ca* sc. *(cr. out & ud.)* descr. *D* [4] et *Ca* ad ob ad observanciam *(cr. out & ud.)* et *D*

taliter[5] obligans eandem ad observanciam preceptorum et consiliorum per sanctos patres promulgatorum. Et iste[6] more monachorum loquitur intricate et diffuse. In hoc tamen, quod causas explanat suam sentenciam, est laudandus.

Quoad primam descripcionem patet, quod implicat, hos dominos esse dampnabiles, quia excludit eos a religione simplici cristiana, quam, si non observent, contenti precise suis privatis religionibus, indubie dampnabuntur. Et patet secundum ex hoc, quod iuxta has descripciones communis religio cristiana et religio privata forent contrarie, ut patet ex multis particulis descripcionum.

Melius ergo foret has duas religiones, sic quod prima religio sit secunde compassibilis, et substrata fundabiliter ad eandem. Item eo ipso, quod communis religio cristiana[7] obligat ad observanciam mandatorum, obligat ad observanciam Cristi consiliorum, cum eorum observancia laudatur, sequitur ad observanciam mandatorum et eo ipso alios, quo[8] alloquitur, regula obligat ad antecedens, obligat ad quodcunque formaliter consequens ex eodem. Si enim quis diligit deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima et ex tota mente, tunc observat castitatem, paupertatem et obedienciam deo suo[9]; castitatem, quia illam precipit deus cuilibet cristiano; paupertatem, quia aliter non diligeret deum ex toto corde, nisi imitaretur[10] in paupertate voluntaria Cristum dei. Ipse enim dicit Matth. 5[c]: beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum. Illa ergo paupertas spiritus, que est optima, est ad beatitudinem requisita. Et quantum ad obedienciam, manifestum est, quod Cristi consilium loquitur de obediencia servanda deo atque prepositis, ymo fratri cuilibet conviventi. Sicut enim deus obedit voci hominis Iosue 10,[d] et laici obediunt voci viri[11] predicantis.

In hoc ergo iniuriatur nobis iste dominus, quod excludit seculares[12] tam presbyteros quam laicos a Cristi consiliis observandis.

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[c] *v. 3* [d] *v. 12—13*

[5] accidentaliter *D* actum ter *D* [6] iste *CD* isto *(!) a* [7] r. c. *a* c. r. *CD* [8] i. a. quo *D* i. quo *C* ipse quo *a (sic)* [9] ***in D is add. in mar.:*** Quod tenens religionem cristianam eciam tenet paupertatem castitatem et obedienciam sicut et religiosus *D*[1] [10] imitaretur *Da* imitaret *C* [11] viri *Ca* veri *D* [12] sec. *Ca* tam *(cr. out & ud.)* sec. *D*

iam tunc licenciaret nos ad carnis petulanciam[13] qualemcunque, d inobedienciam nostris prepositis,[14] aut ad temporalium cupiinem ampliandum.[15] Et tunc omnino secularium foret vana eligio.

Sed non credamus taliter stolidato, sed observetur regula relijonis nostre, quam habemus in ewangelio || expressatam. Si enim || *α fol. 204a* lebemus observare ista consilia, tunc deus obligat nos sub pena omissionis premii ad ista consilia observandum,[16] et per consequens non debet a secularibus vel religionem communem Cristi observanibus excludi observancia istius triplicis consilii cristiani.

Et quantum ad secundam descripcionem[e] patet, quod ipsa capit multipliciter calumpniam.[17] Si enim privata religio essencialiter obligat quemquam ad mandata atque consilia, tunc est de essencia illius religionis, quod ipsum obliget ad eandem. Et per consequens repugnat, quod talis religio servetur in monacho, nisi ipsum obliget ad observanciam istorum, et per consequens, quociens et quamdiu monachus prevaricatur vel deficit ab observancia istorum trium consiliorum, expiravit sua religio, et tunc omnes religiosi privati forent apostati.

Qui, rogo, sunt de illis religionibus,[18] qui non declinant a mandatis domini vel non deficiunt ab observancia istius triplicis consilii cristiani?

Considerent, inquam, quod iuxta istud sequeretur, quod repugnat monacho fornicari, vel quod sit inobediens suo preposito, quod ad iniuriam ecclesie accumulet[19] sibi dominia sive divicias, vel quod peccet, et tunc indubie[20] non foret aliqua privata religio. Nam est, tunc in subiecto aliquo observatur. Et per consequens deripcio, qua[21] prior esse religionis talis ecclesia. Nulla quidem ligio essencialiter obligat ad illud, quod non potest esse. Sicut

[e] *cp. above cap. II p. 527*

[13] petul. *α* peculanciam *CD* [14] prep. *CD* prelatis *(cr. out)* prepos. *α* [15] amiandum *CD* amplicandum *α* [16] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quomodo cristianus t obligatus ad observandum consilia *D*[1] [17] *in D is add. in mar.:* Improbat cundam descripcionem *D*[1] [18] rel. *CD* regio *(cr. out)* rel. *α* [19] accumulet *D* accumulent *Cα* [20] ind. *Cα* non *(cr. out)* ind. *D* [21] qua *α* que *CD*

nec monachus obligatur suo abbati mortuo existente dyabolo[22] in dampnato, et per consequens talis privata religio non essencialit obligat eum alicui preposito conversanti.

Ideo si ista frivola religio obligat quemquam, tunc solum ac cidentaliter obligat, sicut solum accidentaliter est, et si vale accidentaliter, obligat quemlibet cristianum.

Oporteret ergo hunc dominum[f] studere, ad quem actum a quo tempore ac circumstanciis individuatum religio sua oblig realius, non attendendo,[23] quomodo observat secundum legem com munem Cristi hoc triplex consilium.[g]

Non enim valet sophisma, quod nullus talis religiosus hab illum ordinem subiective servatum in se ipso, et per consequen manet integer non solutus, et per consequens ipse manet religios perfectus, ut prius, quia, si religio illa deficit, tunc manet religios apostata, et per consequens talis religiosus non tunc dissolvit suam religionem, quia non[24] tunc est religiosus nec sua religio.

Tales multas instancias posset logicus[25] diffuse facere cont sentencias stolidorum, qui tamquam titinillus[26] simulant repugnan
| a fol. 204b cias doctorum | et nec scientes sumulas,[27] nec leges equivocorum sive oppositorum nesciunt codicem elencorum, sed detegentes in scriptis suas diffiniciones,[28] invenirent ex deteccionibus logicorum,[29] quod quodlibet verborum suorum alteri sit repugnans.

CAP. III.

Arguunt autem ad stabiliendum excellenciam sui privati ordinis[1] multos merdosas argucias.

Primo sic: quod religio ex necessitate[2] sua intrinseca essenciali

[f] *cp. above p. 527 l. 19* [g] *obediencia, castitas, paupertas. cp. ibidem p. 22 ff.*

[22] dyabolo *a* dyaboli *CD* [23] attendendo *a* accedendo *C* atte *(cr. out & ad-* accedendo *D* [24] non *CD* *om. a* [25] logicus *Ca* loycus *D* [26] titinillus *C* tytinillus *D* *(corr. by D¹)* [27] sumulas *Da* sinnulas *C* [28] diffiniciones *C* difniciones *a* [29] logicorum *Ca* loycorum *D*

CAP. III. [1] *In D is add. in mar.:* Argumenta pro stabilienda excellenc ordinis *D¹* [2] ex necessitate *a* existente *CD*

ordinatur ad cultum dei ampliorem, quam communis religio cristiana, ergo est illa perfeccior. Pociorem, inquiunt, cultum exhibet religio privata deo[a] pro sui ordinacione quam communis religio, cum tunc dictum est, religio privata obligat essencialiter tam ad observanciam preceptorum quam consiliorum Cristi, qualiter non facit communis religio Cristi,[b] ut dicit, tam Cristus quam sui apostoli fuerunt[3] de privata religione. Licet non fuerunt[3] de ea secundum istam variacionem accidentalem, quam habet hodie,[4] fuerunt[3] tamen de ea secundum omnia sua essencialia, et, ut dicit, religiones private non differunt a se nisi accidentaliter, et non ab invicem essencialiter specifice.

Quantum ad illam arguciam patet, quod est plena repugnancia et[5] veneno. Nam primum assumptum mendicatur ex legislato[6] doctoris Scoti,[7] et tam eius logica[8] quam ignorancia quidditatis religionis private sic balbucientibus[9] ignoratur. Nesciunt enim religionem suam vel[10] eius racionem essencialem. Ideo illud assumptum negabitur ut venenum. Nam communis religio cristiana est religio, quam Cristus et sui apostoli observaverunt, que ordinatur ad ampliorem[11] cultum dei, quam omnes religiosiarche[12] sciunt vel potuerunt observare, ideo sua religio diminuta[13] religione Cristi, nisi forte dicatur yronice, quod religio istarum vaccarum pingwium in hoc[14] extollitur, quod in eorum presumptuosis[15] cibariis et monstruosis[16] edificiis[c] contra Cristi ordinanciam honoratur.

Sic enim concedunt quedam abbacie, quod habeant fercula lauciora et omnia, que sonant in seculare desiderium, magis ampla. Ideo absit, fidelem blasphemare in deum, quod spiritus sanctus, qui dedit religionem communem cristianis in sanctis apostolis, quam

CAP. III. [a] *Cp. De Perfect. Stat. p. 451 ff.* [b] *as to this, cp. above Suppl. Trial. 431* [c] *cp. above p. 28, 47*

[3] fuerunt *CD* fuerint *α* [4] ha. ho. *Cα* ho. ha. *D* [5] et *Cα* *om. D* [6] legislato *Cα* legislate *D* [7] Scoti *Cα* stoici *(cr. out & ud.)* Scoti *D* [8] logica *α* loyca *CD*, *cp. above p. 530 nn. 25 and 29* [9] balbucientibus *Cα* balbucientes *D* [10] vel *Dα* veel *(ud.)* vel *C* [11] ampliorem *Cα* maiorem *D* [12] religiosiarche *Cα* religiosarcho *D* [13] diminuta *CD* deinuta *(? dirinuta derinuta)* *α* [14] in hoc *CD* *om. α* [15] presumptuosis *CD* presuptuosis *α (compend. om.)* [16] moustruosis *Dα* mondstruosis (d *ud.) C*

voluit in cristianis singulis observari, et quod anticristus succedit vel religiosiarche,[12] minime[17] servi anticristi,[18] qui invenirent[19] religionem privatam, ista religione catholica plus perfectam.

Omnes secte religiones private nesciunt fundare religionem suam vel unam ab alia essencialiter separare.[20] Quomodo ergo balbutirent, quod religio sua ex racione essenciali sua intrinseca sit perfeccior quam communis? Numquid credimus, si ex religione ‖ *a fol. 205a* sua[21] sic lateant, sub[22] columpna ditantur[23] in seculo ‖ et caveant a communicacione elemosinaca,[24] quod propterea sit perfeccior quam communis religio cristiana. Nam nec in genuflexionibus[25] nec in longis ethnicorum oracionibus, nec in buccis rubentibus[26] et ventribus pingwibus stat religio cristiana,[d] sed communicatur[27] oppositum communis.

Omnis quidem religio obligat tam ad observanciam preceptorum quam et Cristi consiliorum. Absit, inquam, quod bene verbum abbatis pingwis, qui ex dei presciencia est dyabolus incarnatus, sit preceptum suis monachis et non verbum Iesu Cristi, nostri abbatis, quod ad salutem anime fidelibus est consultum,[28] sit eius preceptum, ut maiorem precepti habet Cristi consilium:[e] esto consenciens adversario[29] tuo cito, dum es in via, cum illo, quam habent omnia precepta prelatorum, qui sunt noviter introducti, quibus precipiunt subiectis, ut procurent domini multas divicias, ut preparent eis multas lauticias, aut ut faciant observancias frivolas. Propter quorum mandatorum dirupcionem et inobedienciam sunt, ut inquiunt, gravius puniendi.

[d] *cp. the same idea De nova Praevar. above p. 120* [e] *cp. Matth. 5, 25*

[17] minime *D* misericordio *αC* (mie̅) [18] anticristi *Cα* Cristi *D* [19] invenirent *Cα* inveniunt *D* [20] sep. *Cα* ss *(cr. out)* sep. *D* [21] sua *begins in D a new col. (201); this paging is wrong, the preceding folium having at its head the number 199* [22] sub *Dα* e *(ud.)* sub *C* [23] ditantur *CD* dicantur *α* [24] elemosinaca *α* elemosina^ca *C, in mar. is repeated* elemosina^ca *C*[1] *(this glosser could not read the word, nor could the editor)* elemosinata *D* [25] genuflexionibus *Cα* genuflexiones *D* [26] rubentibus *D,α*[1]*C*[1] *in mar.* rubeis *Cα* [27] communicatur *Cα* concomitatur *D* [28] consultum *Cα* preceptum *D* [29] adv. *Dα* cito *(ud.)* adv. *C*

Et quantum ad hoc, quod asserit, Cristum et suos discipulos apostolos fuisse de religione privata,[30] patet, quod potest dicere religionem[31] communissimam, qualis debet esse cristiana religio, sicut religiosi illi dicunt, carnes certas non esse carnes, venacionem sine gravi tumultu non esse venacionem aut cognicionem mulieris cum hoc, quod non sit ad corporis distinccionem, sed carnis consolacionem,[32] non esse luxuriam. — Cristiana autem religio, cum debet communicari cunctis Cristi fidelibus, debet esse communissima, licet ex introducta cautela refuge nunc sit rara. Et quomodocunque apostate tales dixerint religionem Cristi et suorum apostolorum, quam dicunt esse privatam, ipsimet non observant.

Quantum ad illud[33] ultimum,[f] quo religiones privatas non differre a se essencialiter et specifice, sed accidentaliter[34] tantum, placet, quod dicit religionem possessionatorum non differre specifice a religione mendicancium, sicut nec religionem sacerdotum secularium differre essencialiter ab altero eorundem. Ex quo cum veris sequitur, quod stante eorum religione quoad omnia essencialia sua,[35] tam Cristi possessionati quam ipsi fratres possunt et debent esse de religione secularis presbiteri per coactivam potenciam brachii secularis.[36] Nam per nudam ablacionem talis accidentalis servato essenciali non tollitur, sed pocius extollitur religio cristiana. Tunc enim foret ecclesia Cristi ordinacioni conformior, tam religio cleri religioni Cristi similior et unitati propinquior et dissensionis in populi murmuracione de raptu suorum bonorum foret sedacior et ‖ ‖ *α fol. 205b* per consequens dominacio secularis brachii secundum ordinacionem domini foret maior.

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[f] *cp. cap. III p. 531 l. 9 ff.*

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[30] *in D is add. in mar.:* Solvit argumentum Cristum dicencium fuisse de religione privata D^1 [31] rel. *Cα* de *(cr. out & up.)* rel. *D* [32] consolacionem *Cα* consolacioni *D* [33] *in C is add. in mar.:* Quantum ad illud C^1 [34] *in D is add. in mar.:* Solvit argumentum dicencium religiones privatas a se differre solum accidentaliter D^1 [35] om. ess. sua *α* o. s. e. *DC* [36] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quod monachi licite possunt cogi ad tenendum religionem secularis presbiteri D^1

CAP. IV.

Secundo modo[a] arguit[1] ad exaltacionem sui ordinis isto mo beatitudo intensior[2] nata est argui per essencialia private religi quam per essencialia communis religionis, ergo privata est] feccior quam communis. Medicina, inquit, est reliqua perfecc per quam nata est acquiri per se sanitas intensior. Sed opposit illius[3] argucie dicitur esse post crapulam et ebrietatem mons sompniatum.

Unum tamen scio, quod talia sompnia non acquirunt beat dinem, sed pocius precipitant ad infernum. Cristus enim et apostoli per religionis communis observanciam ad intensiorem ; dum beatitudinis attingunt, quam aliqui de privatis ordinibus at gere suffecerunt.

Ideo ex miraculis patentibus in vita, quorum pauci vel ı de istis ordinibus sunt beati. Nam empcio canonizacionis[4] a Romanam Curiam fratris vel monachi ex hoc, quod comederit[5] l predam integram sine potu, vel ex hoc, quod corpus suum m feretrum agitatum a demone, cum similibus illusionibus dys vel precipitacionibus sompniatis non constituit beatum in ecc triumphante.

Ideo absit, quod omnes canonizaciones huiusmodi sint ut culi fidei ab ecclesia acceptande.[6]

Tercio arguit ex conformi assumpto putrido ex hoc, sci quod impedimenta, que sunt impediencia hominem in viando v beatitudinem, copiosius tolluntur per[7] observanciam religionis vate, ergo etc. Num istud assumptum blaspheme innuit relig archas suos[8] esse prudenciores quam fuit dominus Iesus Cri Ipse enim non precepit suos presbiteros includi sumptuos

CAP. IV. [a] *Cp. above p. 530 l. 22 ff.*

CAP. IV. [1] *In D is add. in mar.:* Secundum argumentum *D*[1] [2] in essencia *(ad.)* int. *a* [3] illius *Ca* alius *D* [4] *in D is add. in mar.:* F canonizacionis *D*[3] [5] comederit *Ca* comedit *D* [6] acc. *Ca* catholica [7] per *CD* p *a* *(the stroke through* p *om.)* [8] suos *a* suas *CD*

ıustro,[b] sed ire in mundum universum ac predicare ewangelium ıni creature, ut patet Matth. ultimo.[c] Et si non in isto verbo rangelico fundent inclusionem religiosorum suorum inter parietes ıl in claustro, audeo dicere, quod in tota pagina[9] scripture non ındabunt.

Si enim volunt esse seculares penitencie, cum Baptista petant eremum habitantes sub divo,[10] et non abutantur artificialibus nostris l onus ecclesie plus quam illi.

Consideret ergo fidelis, quomodo ista generacio adultera signa ıerit, et videbit, si lex ewangelica et signum crucis Cristi sit por. Nam sub signis suis gignunt buccas rubeas, ventres pingwes ım omnimodis[11] insolenciis peccatorum. Et patet, quomodo ;na generacionis huius adultere minus impediunt a peccatis, quam ;na religionis || simplicis cristiane. | *a fol. 206a*

Quid, rogo, prodest monachum sive fratrem habere distincnem coloris vel[12] forme in habitu et habere cum hoc animum olentem? Revera nichil,[13] nisi forte ultra religionem cristianam puerit signa ypocrisis, et sic geminetur in populo duplex initas, et sic, ut quidam dicit, ad hoc valet in monacho vestium plitudo, ut ventris et corporis grossicies latencius adolescat.[14] gredo autem vestium attestatur, cuius sunt filii, et quomodo in ma variis criminibus fiunt nigri. Circularitas vero botte attetur, quomodo eorum affeccio circa carnalia circulariter est laxata. de metrista:

Ampla gugula nimis, nigra vestis, botta rotunda
Non faciunt monachum, sed mens a crimine munda.[d]

idem est iudicium de magnitudine et numero esibilium, quas ıuirunt.

[b] *cp. above cap. I, also De Christo et s. adv. cap. XII* [c] *Matth. 28, 19* [d] *as to this, cp. also De Papa cap. 5 in Matthew, E. W. h. u. 467*

[9] pagina *Da* paganıa *C* [10] sub divo *Ca* sub divo i. e. in planicie *D mar.* in planicie C^1a^1 [11] omnimodis *Da* omnimodiis *C* [12] coloris vel *Ca* olorum sive *D* [13] nichil *D* vach *a,C, here corr. from* nichil [14] adolescat *in mar. is add.* crescat adolescat id est crescat *D* adolescat *C, above it* id crescat C^2

Quid, rogo, valet ad refrenandum carnem vel cavendum quecunque peccata requirere, quod tantus potus et panis ministretur monacho indiges (?) sub debita qualitate, aut quid valet numerum ovorum mensurare, numerum ad locum et ferculorum carnium[15] cum aliis monachorum eduliis ad mensuram et numerum limitare et plus pro illis, quam propter observanciam ewangelii litigare? Revera huiusmodi vana est religio!

Et quod subditus signis istis religiosis aliquando profecerit in ordine cristiano, hoc est valde per accidens atque raro. Quod autem surgunt media nocte et dicunt in die tot missas et psalmos sub pena tam gravi, est indiscrecionis indicium et a libertate profectus ecclesie tardativum.

Et patet falsitas assumpcionis domini in suis arguciis, et quomodo vendicat[16] mendacia in suis descripcionibus et racionibus, quare ordines sunt privati etc.[17]

Explicit questio de ligerenoe priuata.[18]

[e] *cp. above p. 527 l. 19*

[15] carnium *CD* carnificum *(!) a* [16] vendicat *Ca* vendicant *D* [17] etc. *C* *om. aD* [18] *i. e.* Expl. qu. de religione privata; *below this in C is add.* Explicit hoc opusculum finitum in adventu domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo *(by Turnow's hand) C* De beata Maria Magdalena *D* *without Explicit a; then follows a short treatise by a disciple of Wiclif:* sex raciones cuiusdam discipuli magistri Johannis Wygleph de hac questione, utrum licet seculari clerum delinquentem castigare et dicitur quod sic. *Then Wiclif's De Dissensione follows.*

B.

THE POLEMICAL WORKS AGAINST THE POPE.

XXI.

DE CITATIONIBUS FRIVOLIS.

DE CITATIONIBUS FRIVOLIS.

I. Division.

I. Introduction: Thesis, concerning the papal Citations, cap. I.

II. Argument:

(a) The arguments in favour of the right of Citation are untenable and sophistical, cap. I—IV.

(b) The assumption of temporal power by the Pope as displayed in the right of Citation, is unjusticable, cap. V—VIII.

III. Conclusion: The Church should, therefore, return to the simple Gospel of Christ without the Pope and his statutes, cap. IX.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *The Pope commits a great wrong when he assumes the right of citing the King's subjects without royal permission, to appear at a specified time and place, and when he inflicts heavy punishment for nonobedience, p. 546—547. For he is neither omniscient, nor infallible, and places himself in many cases in opposition to God (for instance in case of illness), p. 548. Neither Christ (Matth. III; John XVIII), nor the Apostles (St. Peter and Paul) set this example, p. 548. They came to build up the Church, not to destroy it. There is on the part of the Pope no wish to strengthen the faith, or to save the souls of those cited; as a rule it is merely a matter of administering punishment, p. 549—550.*

Chap. II. *The right of Citation is generally derived either from God, or from the temporal Lords, p. 550. If from God, where do*

we find written authority for it? p. 550. If from the temporal Lords they have (1) no right to expose their subjects to the dangers of journey and of foreign lands, when (2) they cannot even protect themselves against assaults from without and within, p. 551. If, then, the right of Citation proceed neither from Christ, nor from the temporal Lords, then it comes from Satan. On the other hand, when taking on oneself such duties, not force, but voluntary love must prevail. The Citations however are nothing but a forcible means of extorting money, p. 551.

Chap. III. *The Citations are not only unfounded in Scripture, but are most injurious, (1) because the pilgrims to Rome only see what is bad, p. 552; (2) because the travellers are left without spiritual care, p. 552. Every one who favours the Citations, be he a Church prelate, or temporal prince, only furthers a work of Antichrist, p. 553. Forward then, Soldiers of Christ, remember the vow you have made to Jesus Christ, forward, take up the strife against this Antichrist, who claims all power over your bodies, as well as your souls. Woe to the land, which submits to his supremacy, p. 553—554.*

Chap. IV. *Enquiry into the three canonical grounds of excuse, necessary obstacles, illness, command of the King, p. 554—555. W. lays claim to these for himself, p. 556.*

Chap. V. *Notwithstanding the pretensions to superiority over the temporal Lords, even over the Emperor, which contrary to Scripture are raised by the Pope — himself a powerless fugitive —, the pious Christian is unable to obey, p. 556—558.*

Chap. VI. *If the objection be raised, (1) that the Pope is the Church as Peter once was, it is to be said: — only in so far, as like Peter he holds the right faith, p. 558, and does not hypocritically pretend to false power etc., p. 559. The true head of the Church is Christ. The Church without Pope is not therefore without head, but is rather freed from the oppressive burden of worldly possessions, p. 559.*

Chap. VII. *If it be objected (2) that through her spiritual power Rome restrains many from sin and crime, this may be admitted in a certain sense, p. 559. But with God the question is not 'what', but 'how'. Rome does not make use of the means employed by Christ*

love and patience), but haughtiness and pride, p. 560. Therefore according to St. Jerome, she nevertheless sins, although much good may result from her mode of acting, p. 561. If Rome is to be really useful to the Church, she must lay aside her worldliness, her love of power and possessions, and by Christian love draw away the sinner from his sin, p. 561.

Chap. VIII. If it be said (3) that in matters of litigation, Rome represents the principle of justice, and that therefore to speak against Rome would be to annihilate human justice, it may be objected that the Church ought to be governed in accordance with the rules of the Gospel and not by the subtle judicial notions of the Canonical Law, p. 562. Christ rejected the office of arbitrator, see Luke XII, p. 562; in like manner the Pope should not interfere in worldly matters, nor become a secular judge, p. 562—563.

Chap. IX. All these abuses, therefore, should be done away with; they are a burden to the Church which before her dotation (with worldly riches) had not suffered from simony, p. 563. The whole secular administration of the Church is diabolical, carried on in the low spirit of a trader which degenerates into the mere amassing of benefices etc., p. 564. — Conclusion. The fundamental evil of the Church consists in the fact of her no longer following the simple commands of the Gospel, but the most senseless human ordinances (for instance that the Romish bishop is a God upon earth to be obeyed as Christ himself), p. 564. It must, therefore, be the prayer of every pious Christian, that Christ would again take the reins of the Church into His own hand, so that after the removal of all erroneous human additions, she may again live in the security of freedom, p. 564.

III. Date of Composition.

In the first place, the terminus a quo may be deduced from the notice about the hostia consecrata p. 553 (cp. Shirley, Fascic. 104). Further, it is clear from the Pope being designated as refuga that Urban's VI. removal from Rome to Naples, which even monastic writers (cp. Ypod. Neustriae 338; Chron. Angl. 357) looked upon as a flight, had already taken place. This flight — to which alone the

passage can here refer — occured in the year 1383. This agrees well with the allusion to Hereford's imprisonment p. 554, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 685 ff. and the personal reference, which is to be found in the Tract at the end of chap. IV. During the last two years of his life, W. was paralyzed,[1] *so that taking into consideration the above notice, we arrive at the end of 1383 or the beginning of 1384. — The latter notice is important, because it mentions as a fact that W. towards the close of his life was cited to Rome by Urban; that the citation may, therefore, be regarded 'as an historical fact."*[2]

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., except cod. 7980, cp. above p. 7.

(2) Explicit cod. C, cp. above p. 564.

(3) cod. A, notice on the front cover.

(4) cod. E, cp. index of the front cover; with ref. to (3) and (4), cp. General Introd. IV, Description of the codd. p. XXIX ff.

(5) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1439; 1456; 1467.

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[1] *This notice we owe to Thomas Gascoigne, who, in 1441, heard it from a certain John Horn, a man of 80 years and for a time curate of John Wiclif himself:* et iste Wycleff fuit paralyticus per duos annos ante mortem suam, *cp. Lewis, Hist., ed. 1820, 336.*

[2] *Lechler I, 712 ff. doubts this, being inclined to the opinion that it rests merely on W.'s so-called Letter of Excuse to Urban (according to Foxe, Acts and Mon., ed. 1844, III, 49; Lewis, Hist. (1829) 122 ff.; Vaughan, Life and Op. I, 121; J. d. W., a mon. 320 ff.). It must be admitted, that, like so many others, the Letter of Excuse is no letter, but perhaps an extract from a sermon. But this fact alone does not appear to me (1) to tell against the existence of the citation, cp.:* Et si in persona propria ad votum potero laborare, vellem praesentiam Romani pontificis humiliter visitare. Sed Deus necessitavit me ad contrarium et consequenter me docuit plus Deo quam hominibus obedire, *Lechler, J, v. W. II, 634. And (2) it is unmistakeably proved by the words:* et sic dicit quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad hanc curiam, *below cap. IV p. 556, that the citation really took place. The reasons also, why W. did not go, are in both fragments the same:* quod prohibicio regia impedit ipsum ire, quia rex regum necessitat et wlt efficaciter, quod non vadat. —

(6) *Shirley, Catal. No. 72 p. 24.*
(7) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*
(8) *Matthew, E. W. h. u. 485.*[1]

Internal evidence:

(1) *cp. above General Introd., p. LIX ff.*
(2) *cp. chap. IV, conclusion, where W. in a style peculiar to himself (cp. for instance De Christo et s. adv. cap. VII, conclusion) speaks of himself as* debilis et claudus. *Cp. with this also the Letter of Excuse in Lechler, J. v. W. II, 634:* sed Deus necessitavit me *etc.*
(3) *cp. also the polemical way of arguing against the Citations with the argumentation in De Servitute civili et domin. cap. V, cod. Ashburnham fol. 87ᵇ ff. (printed by Matthew, E. W. h. u. 483 ff.)*
(4) *cp. for instance cap. I note b; also W.'s favourite phrases III, c; V, a.*[2]

V. *For the greater part, not printed before. Parts of it are published by Matthew, E. W. h. u. 485—487 from cod. Ashburnham.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 212ᵃ—214ᵈ
- A^1 = *Glosser (in mar.) red hand*
- A^2 = *Glosser (above the col.)*
- A^3 = *Corrector*
- A^4 = *Glosser* (Intencio *VII, 16)*

cod. 4527 = C fol. 79ᵃ—83ᵇ C^1 = *Corrector (in pale ink)*

cod. 1337 = E fol. 53ᵈ—57ᵈ
- E^1 = *Glosser*
- E^2 = *Corrector*

all these being in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. X. E. 9. = a a^1 = *Corrector.*

of the Univ.-Library at Prague

cod. Ashburnham XXVII. c. = Ash. fol. 65 ff.

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[1] *Shirley is mistaken in supposing (ibid.) that the letter of the University of Oxford printed by Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 349 proves the genuineness of the present Tract under the title De Versutiis Antichristi.*

[2] *The present Tract has frequently been made use of by Hus, De Ecclesia, cp. cap. I Note h; k; II, b; but there is no reference to the title or author of it, so that the witness of Hus cannot be adduced for proving its genuineness.*

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. **Their relationship.** *I. The group A—E. The agreement in this group is, it is true, in no way remarkable. In the 21[illegible] passages which differ, A—E agree on the whole 59 times; both alone against the agreement of the rest, 20 times. These numbers, therefore, are not weighty as proof of their relationship. E, here as elsewhere, has been copied very carelessly; it often goes its own false ways, and thus the number of passages in which agreement of the two is found, is limited. The readings* usitab. *I, 48;* domini *I, 55;* domini *IV, 12;* cred. *IV, 14;* indic. *V, 13;* spol. *V, 19;* et *V, 20; 24;* et *VI, 1;* igit. *VI, 11;* que *VIII, 6;* rom. *IX, 9 appear to me of much greater importance; especially the characteristic* citaci. *I, 59;* eius *II, 8;* anticr. *II, 13;* vel *II, 19;* s. i. *III, 8;* prodigates *III, 31;* ist. *IV, 16;* eccles. *VII, 15. — Both codd. are not derived immediately one from the other; E is not a copy of A: cp.* hoc *etc. I, 9;* mu. Crist. *I, 43;* obiurg. v. *I, 53;* des. et anticr. *etc. III, 22; also* et si. ind. *III, 4. Nor was A a copy of E: cp.* cit. et *II, 21; also* tali *V, 2. — We have to deduce their relationship from an original which is older than A—E.*

To this unknown original most likely the marginal glosses belonged, both of A and E (important for the derivation and relationship of both). From the original they have passed through various hands (A^1A^2,E^1) to the two copies, as both, with the exception of Intencio *etc. VII, 16 which belongs to a new hand (A^3 or A^4), present all these marginal notes. I have in vain endeavoured to discover a connection between the correctors and the scribes of the text.* Deser. *etc. III, 22 and* et si. *III, 4, also* cit. *etc. II, 21 appear to me to exclude the supposition that A had copied from E after this had been corrected. Neither did the original of E^2 belong to the series of manuscripts here used.*

II. Group C—α. Both codd. are in close connection; of 215 passages which differ, both agree 170 times; α agrees with A, which stands nearest to C (cp. culpa hoc exig. *I, 9;* laniandum *IV, 13;* deut. VI *etc. IV, 19;* iniunxerat *V, 17), according to my counting only 121 times. Against C, α agrees with the rest only 25 times.*

Besides this near agreement compare the omissions common to both culpa *etc. I, 9 and also* manifeste *etc. VI, 19. Nevertheless the two codd. do not appear to have been derived immediately the one from the other.*

***B. The best Codex.** In 140 passages the codd. differ decisively; E gives a false reading 83 times, α 39, C 36 and A 32 times. E is, therefore, to be excluded, although it has some excellent readings against the (wrong) agreement of the remaining codd., see* hoc exig. *I, 9;* obiurg. v. c. *I, 53;* des. et ant. *III, 22; especially* ad in *VII, 2;* ad *VII, 22;* cel. *VII, 23 and* currerent *VIII, 13. From them it is evident, that the original of A and E was a good one, and that the scribe of E merely by his own carelessness and defects is not trustworthy. α also, with 25 readings of its own, has been copied in a careless manner: in 15 instances the wrong readings are given (cp.* rep. *I, 45;* solute *I, 58;* al. *(om.) II, 2;* ut *(om.) II, 5;* huius *II, 9;* cec. *III, 7;* citav. *III, 11;* pap. *III, 30;* diff. *IV, 8;* proh. *IV, 25;* ven. *V, 6;* qui *V, 26;* Bar. *V, 28;* bo. *(om.) VII, 12;* vis. *IX, 1); a number of readings are irrelevant, the only good one being* execrata *III, 2 which in Ash is also given. On this account, α does not enter into competition. The readings of cod. Ashburnham, which through the kindness of F. D. Matthew, Esq., London, became accessible to me only when the printer had nearly finished his work, could not be taken into account for the critical examination of the Mss. But I will not forget to add that Ash stands nearest to cod. E, cp. chap. I note 47; 53; II, 12; III, 39; 40; 41; 43; V, 4; VI, 4; VII, 9; 22; 23; VIII, 13; IX, 16. At any rate, Ash is inferior in goodness to codd. C and A. Thus these two only remain. Which is the better is doubtful. I have counted out the passages in which both read the wrong against the consensus of the other; but this also is of no consequence, both reading the wrong in 11 instances; A has once the correct reading against the agreement of the rest, C in no case. Leaving therefore this critical question unanswered. I give the following text according to both; in doubtful cases C is relied upon.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE CITACIONIBUS FRIVOLIS.[1]

Explicit tractatus de septem donis spiritus sancti.[2]

CAP. I.

A fol. 212a lin. 14

|[3] Si[4] papa vel eius vicario[5] citante | virum legium regis, compareat | coram eo personaliter loco[6] et tempore, | que ipse voluit[7] limitare, dum rex non licenciaverit, num[8] predictus vir legius teneatur sub pena gravis peccati coram papa vel eius vicario in dictis loco et tempore comparere?

Et videtur, quod sic, quia aliter ipsum excomunicant, spoliant, incarcerant vel occidunt, quod non facerent nisi gravis culpa hoc[9]

CAP. I. [1] *This title only in the Expl. of A Inc. om. in AC* de Citacionibus frivolis *in E with red ink high above in the mar.; likewise in the eighth line of the col.:* De citacionibus frivolis et aliis versuciis anticristi De citacionibus frivolis et aliis versuciis anticristi *Ash* [2] Pilextic tustactra ed diorcoinena Trufram dcisut omastrgia En Joahn Wkiffle Creasgeinap Ropfsesore *C i. e.* Explicit tractatus de ordinacione fratrum dictus a magistro Johanne Wikleff sacre pagine professore Explicit dictum de gradibus cleri sive de ordinibus ecclesie *A* [3] *cod. 4527 fol. 79a lin. 28 cod. 1337 fol. 53d lin. 8 cod. α fol. 151b lin. 25 cod. Ashb fol. 64a before the text there comes:* Questio. *There is no division into chapters* [4] *opposite the first line in E in mar.:* cor *(i. e. corrected)* [5] vicario *CEαAsh* vicarius *A* [6] loco *A* pro loco *CEαAsh* [7] voluit *ACE* voluerit *αAsh* [8] num *ACα,E²* *in mar. om. EAsh* [9] culpa hoc *etc. EAsh* culpa pene huiusmodi prec. *etc. ACα, the scribe (of the original from which ACα copied) got into the wrong line led astray by* culpa

igat, cum deus non potest punire hominem nisi culpa pene iusmodi precedente. Ergo questio[10] vera.

Sed antequam arguatur[11] ad partem contrariam, argucia ista phistica est solvenda. —

Constat quidem logicis,[12] quod racio ista non habet colorem si supposito hoc infideli porismate,[13] quod nec papa nec eius vi-rius errare poterit in hac parte. Posset enim[14] esse, quod talis ; anticristus et manifestus dyabolus extollens se inevidenter per[15] omne, quod dicitur deus,[a] et tunc idem foret sic ipsi[16] muere et anticristo cum[17] dyabolo consentire. Posset enim talis elatus agitari tanta insania,[18] quod deo citante virum[19] legium ad ntrarium, ipse citet irracionabilissime contra deum. Cum enim are[20] sit mandare ad futuram obedienciam adimplendum, patet, od stat, deum citare realiter hunc virum legium[21] per penam rporis, quam infligit, ne sic exeat regnum regis.[b] Et cum talis elatus patenter citat ad contrarium, patet lucide, ipsum esse fa-ntem hoc scientifice contra Cristum et per consequens anti-stum. Et cum Cristus[22] sit maior dominus, quia verus deus et minus dominorum, potet patule, quam necesse sit[23] hunc || virum || *A fol. 213b*

CAP. I. [a] *As to this, cp. II Thess. 2, 4* [b] *as to this, cp. Dialog. cap. 20, cod. 1338 (Vienna, Imp. Lib.) fol. 70a: Si enim anticristus citat homines ad locum, quem non intelligunt, nec scit, si pro tempore citacionis erit in tartaris cum dyabolo stabilitus, et Cristus citat per legem suam per instrumentum et casus, quos immittit ad partem contrariam, quis dubitat, quin citacioni domini est parendum? Ideo non foret signum evidencius ad ostendendum, quod talis citans sit anticristus et filius patris mendacii, quam talis falsa citacio contra Cristum etc.*

[10] questio *ACEα* conclusio *Ash* [11] arguatur *ACEα* arguitur *Ash; in tthew, E. W. h. u. 485, but in Matthew's Manuscript, which was lent me for collation:* arguatur [12] logicis *CαAsh* loicis *AE* [13] porismate *ACαAsh* persinate *(ud.) E, but in mar.* perisomate *E²* *(?, not* porismate) [14] enim *ACα* tamen *E* [15] super *ACE* supra *αAsh* [16] sic ipsi *Ash* ipsi sic *α* ipsum *AC* sic ipsum *E* [17] cum *ACα* sive *EAsh* [18] insania *CEαAsh* infamia *A* virum *ACαAsh* hunc *E² in mar. just before* virum [20] *in AE is add. in mar.:* are *A¹ (who possibly is identical with the scribe of the text), E¹* [21] hunc l. *ACα* v. l. h. *E* v. h. l. *Ash* [22] Et cum Cristus *CEαAsh* Et cum si istus *A* [23] sit *ACαAsh* sint *E*

legium non tali citacioni talis dyaboli consentire. Dicit e apostolus I[24] Cor. 10[c]: fidelis est deus, qui non permittet[25] vos t ptari supra[26] id, quod potestis, sed faciet[27] cum temptacione eci proventum, ut possitis[29] sustinere. — Et sic videtur, immine tali temptacione dyaboli fidelis vir[31] legius debet in deo[32] (fidere et Christo, non illi dyabolo in isto facinore obedire, (sepe deus procul videt, quomodo talis prelatus presumens h anticristi vesaniam erit, antequam tempus, quod limitat, vener a deo[34] impeditus, quod non tunc erit opportunitas ad virum il examinandum, cum dei citacio citacionem talem dyabolicam[35] frustrat.

Nec valet excusacio, quod prelatus[36] sic citans regis leg hoc ignorat, quia vel[37] debet condicionem illam supponere, v ipsa impleta a vexacione tali frivola propter reverenciam cessare.

Item[39] omnes[40] tales prelati cesarei[41] debent sequi Cris caput ecclesie, atque Petrum, sed nec unus eorum nec alter fuit huiusmodi citacione,[42] sed modo contrario. Ergo prel cesareus illud temptans non capit hoc a patronis ecclesie, s mundo. Cristus[43] enim ad Iohannem venerat baptizandus, ut tet Matth. 3,[44 d] dixitque centurioni conquerenti honeste et ta

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[c] *v. 13, according to the textus receptus: tentatio vos non app dat nisi humana; fidelis autem Deus est, qui non patietur vos t supra id, quod potestis, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventu possitis sustinere* [d] *v. 13*

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[24] I *CEAsh* *om. Aα* [25] permittit *ACEα,Ash in Matthew's MS.* pen *Ash (in Matthew's print)* [26] supra *ACαAsh,E² in mar.* nisi *E* [27] faci facit *ACEαAsh* [28] cum t. e. *ACαAsh* etiam c. t. *E* [29] possitis (possetis *AE* [30] im. *ACα* quod im. *EAsh* [31] vir *ACαAsh* Chi [32] deo *ACαAsh* domino *E* [33] antequam t., q. l., v. *ACαAsh* ante t. v., q. l. *E* [34] deo *ACαAsh* domino *E* [35] dyabolicam *ACαAsh,E²* i *om. E* [36] prelatus *CEAsh* dyabolus *A* dyabolus *(cr. out)* prelatus *α* *ACαAshE²* tales *(ud.) E* [38] vel *AαCAsh* talis *E* [39] item *ACEα* i *Ash in AE in mar.*: 2 *A¹E¹* [40] omnes *ACαAsh* tamen *(ud.)* om. *E* [41] c *ACαAsh* cesari *E* [42] hui. cit. *ACαAsh* cit. hui. *E* [43] mundo (*etc. EAsh* mundo ut patet Matth. *etc. ACα* [44] 3º *EAsh* 8º *ACα*

r meus iacet in domo paraliticus et male torquetur: ego, inquit itus, veniam et curabo eum, Matth. 8.[e]

Et tercio Cristus non citavit tortores ut ipsum crucient[45] occidant, sed venit illuc humiliter, ut patet Joh. 18.[f] Petrus m urbane vocatus a Cornelio, non citatus, venit ad eum et ruxit eum in fide, ut patet Act. 10,[g] nec reperiet[46] homo loca nisi ut loquar yronice, tria,[47] in quibus Cristus aut Petrus ciones huiusmodi usitabat.[48][h]

Similiter[49] cum apostolus dicat II Cor. ultimo,[i] quod deus dedit illi et per idem nulli alteri potestatem ad destruccionem, ad edificacionem,[50] patet ex fructu sequenti, quod talis citacio dyabolica cesarea vel mundana. Vel enim persona citata in comparicione[51] punietur,[52] obiurgabitur vel incarcerabitur[53] aut eficio habito privabitur, vel alia pena cesarea multabitur vel, l maxime[54] videtur consonum iusticie, docebitur sumptuose in istorio prelati contendere.[k] Et sic ubi mandat apostolus[l] non

[e] *v. 6* [f] *v. 36: Respondit Jesus: Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo and v. 37: Ego in hoc natus sum et ad hoc veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati* [g] *v. 23: Sequenti autem die surgens profectus est cum illis, et quidam ex fratribus ab Joppe comitati sunt eum* [h] *with ref. to this passage, see Hus, De Ecclesia in Cod. M. St. 8 v. 6 Bibl. Gersd., Bautzen fol. 135[b], De Citatione: Benedictus sit ipse Christus, qui precepit Petro Matth. 18 dicens: Si peccaverit frater tuus in te etc. Unde non reperiet | (136[a]) papa loca alia nisi a contrario, quod Cristus citaciones huiusmodi usitabat* [i] *v. 10* [k] *as to this, see Hus, l. c. Cod. M. St. 8 v. 6, Bibl. Gersd. Bautzen fol. 135[b]: Nec ibi docebitur bene credere, sed litigare, quod non licet servo dei, ibi spoliabitur in consistorio, in moribus sanctis refrigescet ad impacienciam per oppressiones incarcerabitur, et si non habuerit dare, condempnabitur eciam habens iusticiam et quod gravius est, compelletur papam ut deum flexis genibus adorare* [l] *i. e. St. Paul, for instance II Tim. 2, 14; I Tim. 6, 4; Tit. 3, 9; 2.*

[45] crucient *ACaAsh* cruciant *E* *in AE is add. in mar.:* 3° A^1E^1 [46] re-et A^1*CEAsh* reperiret *Aa* [47] tria *ACa* ista tria *EAsh* [48] usitabat *AE* itabant *CaAsh* [49] *in AE is add. in mar.:* 4° A^1E^1 [50] *in AE is add. in* : Potestas data est ad edificacionem $A^1(E^1)$ [51] comparicione *ACEa* com-cione *Ash* [52] punietur *ACaAsh*, E^2 *in mar.* punitur *E* [53] obiurgabitur inc. *etc. EAsh* obi. vel quod maxim. vid. *etc. ACa, the copier got into the g line* [54] maxime *AEaAsh* maximum *C*

litigare sive contendere, prelatus iste excitat ad hoc opus. Et cu servum domini[55] non oportet ita contendere,[m] evidens est, quod i A fol. 212c curia || servit patri dissensionis[56] et sic sathane et per[57] consequ caput eius. De fide autem et salute[58] anime elaborata ex scripto citatis[59] talibus per prelatum vel suos clericos non est verbu Ideo manifeste videtur, quod talis citacio non est propter edificac nem anime, sed propter causam[60] dyabolicam aut mundanam.

CAP. II.

Similiter vel habet talis prelatus istam licenciam a mun principibus vel a domino sompniatam. Si a domino, dicat,[1] ul si a mundi principibus, patens est, quod mundi principes n habent potestatem mittendi suos legios per viam tam periculos in dominio alieno.[2] Et si fingatur,[3] quod habent illam potencia a se ipsis, manifestum videtur, quod vix sufficiunt se ipsos tanqu fures abscondere, ne ab incolis vel predonibus capiantur. — Cu ergo fides precipiat Matth. 7[a]: omnia, quecunque wltis ut[5] facia vobis homines, ita et vos facite illis; hec est enim[6] lex et prophe et prelati isti non racionabiliter vellent, quod homines citarent necessitarent eos ad talem viam periculosam et incognitam per gendum,[7] videtur, quod nec prelati illi urgerent alios sine cau patente et racionabili taliter laborare.[b] Non enim est causa suf

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[m] *cp. note k*

CAP. II. [a] *v. 12* [b] *this passage is verbatim repeated by H in his known Tract* De Ecclesia, *cp. cod. M. St. 8 v. 6, Bibl. Gen Bautzen fol. 136: Si enim pape perpenderent illam legem Christi Matth. Omnia quecunque vultis etc. — lex et prophete, estimo, quod non raci nabiliter vellent, quod homines citarent et incarcerarent eos ad tale viam periculosam et incognitam peragendam. Cur ergo urgerent ali*

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[55] domini *AE* dei *CaAsh* [56] dissensionis *ACaAsh* distencionis *E* [57]] *ACEa* patet *Ash* [58] salute *ACEAsh* solute *a* [59] citatis *CaAsh* ci cionibus *AE* [60] causam *ACEa om. Ash*

CAP. II. [1] dicat *ACa* dicant *EAsh* [2] alieno *ACEAsh,a¹ in mar. om* [3] fingatur *ACEa* fingitur *Ash here ends in E fol. 54ᵇ, above it:* De Citacio bus frivolis *in big red letters* [4] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Nota *A¹C¹* [5] *ACEAsh om. a* [6] enim *AEAsh om. Ca* [7] peragendum *AC* peragu dum *EaAsh*

iens, si Christus dicit Matth. 24[c] de ipso papa, ut creditur, furtive et abscondite fugiente: ecce in deserto est, quod quilibet, quem vendicat esse suum subditum, taliter perageretur.[8] Et patet, quod nec a Cristo nec a principe eius,[9] cuius est vir legius, capit papa huiusmodi[10] potestatem.

Similiter quilibet labor viantis et specialiter iniunctus a tanto prelato, debet aptari, ut sit meritorius et per consequens racionabiliter voluntarius. Sed sic non est de tali peregrinacione, a citacione huiusmodi procedente. Ideo[11] talis citacio videtur esse cesarea vel dyabolica et non[12] auctorizata a domino Iesu Cristo.

Assumptum patet ex hoc, quod omnes labores viantis debent fieri in caritate et per consequens ex meritoria voluntate. Sed que, rogo, aptacio extrahere curatum per ambages tam artas[13] et periculosas ad ostendendam anticristi[14] potenciam vel ad exhauriendam pecuniam ad sedem ex antiquo scelere maledictam?

Numquid credimus, Cristus aut sui apostoli sic fecerunt? Nam in epistola ad Philemon.[15] scribit apostolus:[16d] sine consilio tuo[17] nichil volui facere, || ut[18] ne velut ex necessitate bonum || *A fol. 212d*
tuum esset, sed voluntarium. Sed rogo, que occasio laudis vel[19] laboris voluntarii, cum[20] sine causa talis persona curata est tam anxie sic citata et in fine laboris[21] a spirituali commodo est frustrata.

sine causa patente et racionabili taliter laborare, pensarent quidem vitam exemplare Christi pontificis etc. [c] *v. 26* [d] *v. 14*

[8] perageretur *A, corr. into* peragiretur *by A*¹ peragretur *CAsh* peragerotur *E*, tur *add. later by E*² peragerotur α, *but in mar.* .peragretur α¹ [9] eius *AE om. CαAsh* [10] huiusmodi *ACEAsh* huius α [11] ideo *ACαAsh* et ideo *E* [12] et non *ACEαAsh* et non *E, but E*² *has add.* sic *between both* [13] artas *ACα,E*² *in mar.* avias *(ud.) E* avias *Ash* [14] ostendendam anticristi *AAsh* ostendendum antichristi *E* ostendendam antichristivam *Cα* [15] philome *A* philomeum *C* phylomeum α filomonem *E* Philom̄ *Ash* [16] ad Phil. scr. ap. *ACα* in epistola *(corr. into the text by E*²*)* ad filo. in epistola sic scribit *E* in ep. ad Ph. sic scr. *Ash* [17] tuo *ACαAsh* aut tuo *E* [18] ut *ACEα* ita *Ash* [19] vel *AE om. CαAsh* [20] cum *ACEα* quando *Ash* [21] cit. et in fi. lab. *etc. ACαAsh* citata possunt enim *etc. E, but E*² *has add. what is wanting above the col.:* et sic in fine lab. *etc.* — frustr. possunt

tiere
inaspheme
tormens
refriga
corporaliter
spiritual
quam boni
martires occi-
sanctum. quod
est sancti-
Scotema et Go-
peccati est,
sic ci-
rem sibi
prestigens
inanpna-
humanam persone,
ex tali stulta
videtur et
Si enim scintilla

ex ecclesia
pape romana plus
perpetualitatis peccati
Nota
tamquam
sintilla

caritatis vigeret[13] in tali prelato, visitaret talem provinciam[14] instar Cristi vel saltem instrueret ipsam epistolariter[15] more Pauli. Sed sicut citat ad locum, quem sibi[16] nescit, et pro causa quam literaliter[17] exprimere erubescit, sic nescit fidem catholicam eciam[18] de hostia consecrata, quam tractat cottidie, et erubescit pandere causam dyabolicam, pro qua citat.

Et quantum ad principes in citacione huiusmodi[19] dyabolo sic faventes,[20] patet, quod sunt quasi legem domini et suam misericordiam deserentes et contra Cristum[21] anticristo consencientes et cum ipso in suo facinore coagentes.

Eya, milites || Cristi, recolite, quam stultum facinus sit Cristum || *A fol. 213a* contra iuramentum proprium ita deserere et anticristo,[22] qui in faciem anime sic vos cedit,[23] tam turpiter consentire! Vendicat enim anticristus, licet false, esse capitalis dominus vestrarum omnium contratarum[24] et vestrorum bonorum omnium et singulorum vestrorum hominum legiorum.[25]

Sed ve terre, cui talis ypocrita dominatur! Et de talibus videtur apostolus deridendo loqui sive yronice II[26] Cor. 11[27] quando dicit: libenter suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes; sustinetis enim, si quis vos in servitutem redigit, si quis devorat, si quis accipit et si[28] quis extollitur. Stultificatos enim per anticristum videtur apostolus vocare yronice sapientes, qui sustinent, et quodammodo consenciunt, quando ab anticristo et sua familia in servitutem turpissimam rediguntur. Secundo stulte sustinent, quando bona,[29] que debent esse vita suorum pauperum,[30] ab ipsis prodigaliter[31] devo-

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[d] *v. 19—20*

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[13] vigeret *CEαAsh* viget *A* [14] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Visitacio *A¹E¹* [15] epistolariter *Ash* exemplariter *ACα* episcopaliter *E* [16] sibi *α,A, corr. into the text om. CEAsh* [17] literaliter *ACEα* habitualiter *Ash* [18] eciam *ACαAsh* et *E, corr. into* eciam *by E²* [19] huiusmodi *CEαAsh* huius *A* [20] faventes *ACαAsh* faventis *E* [21] et c. C. *ACα,E, here* sic *is add. between* et *and* Cr. *by E²* contra Cr. *Ash* [22] deserere et ant. *etc. EAsh* deserere vendicat enim ant. *etc. ACα* [23] citat *ACα* cedit *EAsh* [24] contratarum *ACαAsh* contractare *(?) E* [25] legiorum *ACαAsh* legione *E* [26] secunda *AEAsh* *om. Cα* [27] 11° *CEAshα* VI° *A, corr. into* 11° *by A¹* [28] et si *ACEAsh* si *α* [29] bona *CαAsh* *om. AE* [30] pauperum *ACEAsh* paperum *α* [31] prodigaliter *CαAsh* prodigatis *AE*

rantur. Tercio sustinent magis patenter[32] stulticiam anticristi, quando ipse cum suis complicibus[33] accipit[34] legios homines principum in suum carcerem et cruciat dei famulos ut latrones. Et quarto sustinent ypocrisim anticristi et sue familie, quando ultra Cristi potenciam et omnis rei que dicitur deus, heretice extolluntur.[35] Vendicant[36] enim supra[37] Cristum, quod omne genu[38] eis[39] flectatur celestium, terrestrium et infernorum, cum fingant,[40] se imperare angelis, quod deferant animam talis mortui in gaudium beatorum.[41] Fingunt eciam quoad terrestres homines, quod habent potestatem imperandi eciam imperatoribus, ut veniant et sibi et[42] suis genuflectant.[43] Sed non habent potestatem imperandi demonibus, ne ipsis noceant vel protrahant[44] ad[45] infernum. Et sic videntur[46] mundani homines tantum per dyabolum philocapti, quod in sua causa certent[47] viriliter tamquam sui milites speciales, sed in causa Cristi, que est facilior et consolabilior, sunt vecordes.

CAP. IV.

Unde quia dyabolus et quodlibet eius membrum redarguunt se ipsos in peccatis,[1] que perpetrant, notant[2] quidam leges, quas papa approbat in hac parte. Nam in Decretis 18. dist. sic scribitur[a]: si episcopus[3] metropolitanus ad provinciales[4] episcopos epistolas

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[c] *cp. above cap. I note k*

CAP. IV. [a] *Cp. Cor. iur. can. ed. Richter-Friedberg, Leipz. 1879, vol. I, 57*

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[32] patenter *ACα* patentem *EAsh* [33] complicibus *ACαAsh* completibus *E* [34] accipit *AαAsh* accipiat *CE* [35] dic. de. heret. ext. *EAsh* dic. deus extollitur *ACα* [36] vendicant *AEαAsh* vendicat *C* [37] supra *AαAsh* sua *CE* [38] genu *CEαAsh* genus *A, but the* s *ud. by A*[1] [39] eis *Aα* ei *C* ipsis *EAsh* [40] fingant *ACα* fingunt *EAsh* [41] beatorum *ACα,E*[2] *in mar.* bonorum *(ud.) EAsh* [42] et *ACE* ac *αAsh* [43] suis genuflectant *A* suis gemiflectant *C* suis genu flectant *α* suis sociis genuflectant *EAsh* [44] protrahant *ACEα* pertrahant *Ash* [45] ad *ACEAsh* in *α* [46] videntur *ACEα* videtur *Ash* [47] certent *ACαAsh* certarent *E*

CAP. IV. [1] peccatis *CEαAsh* peccato *A* [2] notant *AEαAsh* vocant *(?) C* [3] episcopus *ACαAsh,E*[2] *in mar.* Cristus *E* [4] provinciales *ACα* con *(ud.)* provinciales *E* comprovinciales *Ash*

irexerit,[5] in quibus eos aut ad ordinacionem summi pontificis aut d synodum invitet, || postpositis[6] omnibus excepta gravi[7] necessi- || A fol. 213b ate vel infirmitate corporis ac precepcione regia ad constitutum liem adesse non differant.[8]

Ecce, triplex excusacio[9] excusat a citacione metropolitani, ut videtur, si fuerit ex mandato summi pontificis, cum ipse sit quidam episcopus et per dei graciam metropolitanus. Primum est gravis necessitas, que videtur maxima in custodia Cristi ovium, ne a lupis rapacibus lanientur. Secundum est infirmitas corporis, propter quam deficit citato[10] disposicio[11] data a domino[12] ad taliter laborandum.[13] Et tercium est precepcio regia, quando rex precipit,[14] sicut debet, suo legio, ne taliter extra suam provinciam superflue evagetur.

Et omnes iste tres cause vel aliqua[15] earum in qualibet citacione huiusmodi sunt reperte, et specialiter cum rex regum prohibeat taliter evagari. Ad eleccionem istam[16] summi pontificis, qui est Cristus, indubie debent[17] viatores singuli laborare, cum Cristum debent viantes singuli postpositis[18] mandatis et citacionibus humanis, eligere iuxta illud Deuter. 2(6)[b]: dominum elegisti hodie.[19] Et sic viantes eligunt deum[20] et ipse eligitur ab eis, quandocunque mandatum sive consilium suum[21] efficitur et mandatum humanum postponitur, quod[22] videtur debere fieri, quandocunque talis citacio frivola contempnitur et voluntas domini adimpletur.

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[b] *v. 17: dominum elegisti hodie, ut sit tibi deus*

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[5] direxerit *ACαAsh* direxit *E* [6] postpositis *ACEα* postposita *Ash* [7] gravi *ACEα,Ash (M.'s MS.)* grava *Ash (print)* [8] differant *AEAsh* differrant *α* differat *C* [9] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Excusacio non comparicionis citati *A*[1] *with mark of ref. below the col., E*[1] *in mar.* [10] citato *ACαAsh* citata *E* [11] disposicio *AEαAsh* disposito *C* [12] domino *AE* deo *CαAsh* [13] laborandum *EAsh,A*[2] *in mar.* laniandum *ACα* [14] precipit *ACEα,Ash (M.'s MS.)* precepit *Ash (print)* [15] aliqua *ACα,E*[2] *in mar.* alia *E* aliquis *Ash* [16] istam *AE* itaque *CαAsh* [17] debent *AEαAsh* deberent *C* [18] postpositis *ACαAsh* prepositis *E* [19] deut. VI° deum tuum dom. el. ho. *A, the two words* deum tuum *are add. later by A*[2] *into a blank* deuteronomio 20 domin. el. ho. *E* deut. II° dominum elegisti hodie *(sic) Cα* deuteronomii domin. el. ho. *Ash* [20] deum *CEαAsh om. A* [21] mand. si. co. su. *ACαAsh* mand. suum sive consilium *E* [22] quod *ACαAsh* quomodo *E*

Et sic dicit[23] quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad han riam,[24] quod prohibicio regia impedit[25] ipsum ire, quia rex r necessitat et wlt efficaciter, quod non vadat. Dicit eciam, domi oportet ipsum eligere summum[26] pontificem Iesum Cris quod est gravis necessitas eo, quod cum eius omissione[27] vel n gencia[28] non potest romanus pontifex vel aliquis angelus dispen

CAP. V.

Et sic notato toto processu operis anticristi[1] sunt ı meandri,[a] quibus nititur se extollere supra Cristum. Sed cum in eo in quolibet tali[2] opere est et non, ille foret stulto stul qui in hoc crederet dictis suis. Citat enim personas ad suam senciam, quas deus impossibilitat ad hanc viam, nec potest pers illas sanitati priori restituere, sicut nec scabiem corporis pr vel suorum complicum emundare.[3] Fingit se cognoscere, qu *fol. 213c* deus || wlt beatitudinem vel dampnacionem tribuere, ymo ma angelis, ut in hoc suum imperium exequantur[4] et tamen[5] ignora duales[6] eventus, qui de valde probabili sibi et sue curie sunt fu Quis, inquam, infideli deterior non supponeret, talem prelatum, tam multipliciter extollitur supra Cristum, deprimi digno iu dei sui? Cum ergo[7] isti prelati nesciunt sic prenosticare[8] fu manifestum est, quod non sunt dei, ut dicitur Psal. 81[b], si

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CAP. V. [a] *A favourite phrase of W., cp. for inst. Trial*
[b] *cp. Ps. 82, 6*

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[23] Et sic dicit *ACαAsh* et sic sic dicit *E (in mar. is add. by E[3]* Et*)* [24] riam *ACαAsh* curiam *(ud.)* terram *E* [25] impedit *ACEAsh,α[1] in mar.* prohi [26] summum *CEαAsh* suum *A* [27] omissione *CEAsh* amissione *Aα* [28] gencia *ACαAsh* necligencia *E*

CAP. V. [1] op. anticr. *ACαAsh* anticr. op. *E* [2] tali *ACαAsh,E[2]* *is om. E* [3] *in AE is add. above the col.:* Papa non potest scabiem p corporis mundare, quomodo potest tunc angelis imperare *A[2]E[1]* [4] exequ *ACα* exequatur *EAsh* [5] tamen *Ash* cum *(?)* *ACα* tum *(?)* *E* [6] ped *ACE* penales *Ash,α, corr. from* venales [7] ergo *ACEα* igitur *Ash* [8] nosticare *ACEα* pronosticare *Ash*

dyaboli.[9] Fingit eciam, se habere plenitudinem potestatis super omnia bona mundi,[10] cum sit capitalis dominus eciam[11] supra cesarem et omnes alios dominos seculares et tamen[12] per totam artem suam nescit consulere malignis spiritibus, cum quibus foret magis cognitus, ut indicent[13] sibi thesauros absconditos, sed egenos spoliat per mendacia sibi ficta. Ideo sicut Cristus non credebat sathane Matth. 4[c], quando promisit sibi omnia regna mundi, si cadens ipsum adoraverit, ita fidelis non credit[14] blasphemiis istius refuge, etsi promittat, quod habet imperii et omnium regnorum dominium[15] ac beneficiorum ecclesie in propria potestate. Licet ergo anticristus vendicet talem mundanam obedienciam supra Cristum, cum sit radix ficticie religionibus privatis, tamen[16] fidelis stat fixus in fide, nec a labore, quem Cristus iniunxerat,[17] exterretur.[18] Sicut enim segetes crescunt continue, licet volucres celi, quos Cristus Luc. 8[d] dicit esse dyabolos, semina spolient, sic fidelis fixus in domino non decrescit in virtute vel dei servicio, licet anticristus cum membris suis spoliet[19] semina fidei et[20] bona minima ab ecclesia militante. Et multo magis fidelis non dimittit[21] perseverare in gradu suo propter fictos terrores, sicut grana[22] et fruges non cessant crescere propter fictas[23] minas ydolorum volucrum et[24] sagittancium. Et re vera ficte tales censure non nocent fidelibus[25] quoad deum, quia,[26] ut dicitur[27] Bar.[28] ultimo[e]: cum talia ydola non possunt se ipsa a nocumentis defendere, non sunt dii, sed fabrice hominum false ficte. —

Tales multas extollencias anticristi cogitare posset fidelis et ad

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[c] *v. 9* [d] *v. 5 and 12* [e] *cap. VI 49, cp. also vv. 14, 22, 28 etc.*

[9] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Pape sunt dii in terris i. e. dyaboli A^2E^1 [10] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Potestas pape A^2E^1 [11] eciam *ACEα* et *Ash* [12] tamen *Ash* tum *E* cum *ACα* [13] indicent *AEAsh* indicet *Cα* [14] credit *CαAsh* credidit *AE* [15] dominium *ACαAsh* dominum *E* [16] tamen *ACAsh* tum *E,α, here not quite clear in consequence of a correction having taken place* [17] iniunxerat *ACαAsh* iniungerat *(?) E* [18] exterretur *ACαAsh*, E^2 *in mar.* extirpetur *E* [19] spoliet *AEAsh* spolient *Cα* [20] et *AE* ac *CαAsh* [21] dimittit *ACαAsh* permittit *E* [22] grana *ACEα* gramina *Ash* [23] fictas *AEαAsh om. C* [24] et *AE* ac *CαAsh* [25] *in AE is add. above the col.:* Ficte censure non nocent hominibus fidelibus A^3E^1 [26] quia *ACEAsh* qui *α* [27] dicitur *ACαAsh* videtur *E* [28] Baruch *ACE* Baruth *α* Baruc *Ash*

standum firmius in lege domini propter earum virtutis carenciam animari, *A fol. 213d* cum possunt || ad maximum procurare corpus occidi et per hoc secundum fidem scripture non nocent anime, sed assistente virtute paciencie[29] ipsam animam meliorant.[30] Martires autem[31] priores habuerunt persecutores corporis plus acutos; ideo videtur multis, quod fidei vivacitas est hodie plus sopita.

CAP. VI.

Sed contra istam sentenciam arguit anticristus: hec curia sicut papa, eius caput et[1] sancte matris ecclesie, est vita et radix tocius ecclesie militantis. Idem ergo foret contra eius sanctitatem invehere, cum sit Petri vicarius, et machinari destruere ecclesiam militantem.[2]

Sed hic dictum est sepe, quod fideles vellent cum reverencia eis possibili laudare et extollere veros vicarios sancti Petri. Sed tunc oporteret eos mundanos honores ac possessiones deserere instar Petri et stare in[3] limitibus fidei ac laboris, quem Petrus exercuit et non sic in potencie[4] spiritualis ficticia blasphemare.[5]

Contra istam itaque triplicitatem blasphemie instant[6] fideles reputantes, quod nimis perturbat[7] magnam partem ecclesie militantis. Ideo ista triplicitate semota deus verisimiliter provideret de vero[8] Petri vicario ad iuvandum[9] suam ecclesiam conformiter legi Cristi. Studeat ergo sacerdos, qui fingit se Petri vicarium, quomodo Petrus vixit[10] et qualiter Cristus in lege sua iniunxerat sancto Petro, et sciat, quod ab isto exhorbitans est sophista dyaboli et vicarius anticristi. Fidelis igitur,[11] qui constanter dicit sibi istam sentenciam ipsi vocato Petri vicario, quia sue anime est

[29] paciencie *ACαAsh* paciente *E* [30] meliorant *ACαAsh* meliorarent *E* [31] autem *ACαAsh* aut *E*

CAP. VI. [1] et *AE* ac *CαAsh* [2] militantem *ACαAsh* militatem *E*, *compendium om. above the* a [3] in *AEαAsh* *om. C, is add. later into the text by* C [4] in potencie *ACα* in potestatis *EAsh* [5] blasphemare *ACαAsh* blasfe[illegible]naro *E* [6] instant *ACα,Ash* instat *E* [7] perturbat *ACαAsh* perturban[illegible] [8] vero *EAsh,A*[1] *corr. into the text* uno *ACα* [9] iuvandum *ACEα* minand[illegible] *Ash* [10] *in A is add. in mar.:* Vivere *A*[1] [11] igitur *AE* ergo *CαAsh*

:us, et per consequens domestici, qui applaudunt sibi in isto nore, sunt[12] sibi maximi inimici.[a]

Et sic absit, quod tale caput per falsas et fictas[13] elecciones nanas foret caput ecclesie militantis, sed caput nostrum est sum, dominus Iesus Cristus. Et sic[14] illi militantes dei adiutores [15] sue militantis ecclesie, quibus sibi placet ad hoc de sursum aciam destillare,[16] et sic militans ecclesia non est acephala[17] nec ıe adiutorio, licet careat tali refuga, quin pocius, carens totaliter ıtacione mundana, sicut lex[18] Cristi manifeste precipit, foret leviata ab onere[19] iam tardante, vivens pure de elemosinis et demis, que sunt pars domini, intenta assiduitate sui officii per graciam ɔmini Iesu Cristi. Et sic talis papa non est caput, vita || vel ıdix nisi forte ecclesie malignancium, sed aborigo vel herba nociva :clesie domini Iesu Cristi. | A fol. 211a

Talem ergo repugnanciam in verbo et opere, qua anticristus ominat se patrem sanctissimum et perseveranter dicit in opere se sse sceleratissimum,[20] debet fidelis scolaris veritatis constanti corde t humili reprobare.

CAP. VII.

Secundo[a] invehitur, quod ista sedes infert graciose toti cristianismo formidinem ad peccandum. Idem ergo foret contra ipsam sic loqui et laxare[1] toti ecclesie habenas ad in[2] peccatis, ut sibi placuerit, volutandum.

Hic dictum est concedendo sepius, quod anticristus cum membris suis facit multa bona in ecclesia militante, sed non tanta, quanta dyabolus temptando homines et penas terrificas inferendo.

CAP. VI. [a] *see Matth. 10, 36; Luke 12, 52; 53*

CAP. VII. [a] *Cp. above p. 558 l. 12*

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[12] sunt *ACαAsh,E² in mar.* *om. E* [13] et fictas *CEαAsh* *om. A* [14] sic *AE² corr. into the text* *om. CEαAsh* [15] ac *ACEAsh* et *α* [16] graciam destillare *ACαAsh* gravi distillare *E* [17] acephala *ACα,E² in mar.* athevola (sd.) *E* acevola *Ash* *in AE is add. in mar.:* Ecclesia carens pape non est acephala *A³E¹* [18] lex *CEAsh* est lex *Aα* [19] man. fo. all. ab on. *A* man. precipit foret all. ab on. *CαAsh* man. precip. for. all. onere *E* [20] et persev. di. in op. se ess. scel. *ACEα* *om. Ash*

CAP. VII. [1] laxare *ACαAsh* laxari *E* [2] ad in *EAsh* in *ACα*

Ideo conceditur tamquam probabile, quod hec sedes terret multos tyrannos a perpetracione multorum facinorum,[3] sed medium, quod[4] Cristus docuit ad terrendum peccatores legi sue contrarios, fuit medium amoris, medium paciencie et medium beneficiencie. Et istam formam servarunt Cristus, Petrus et alii Cristi apostoli.

Sed istam formam Cristi aspirando ad honores mundanos et seculare dominium ista sedes cum suis filiis est oblita. Ideo cum incussiones[5] tales dominative non sunt naturales nec meritorie, parum prosunt ecclesie, cum statim redeant[6] ad peccandum. Ideo ista sedes cum suis filiis laboraret per medium, quod Cristus docuit tamquam utilius et constancius, undique.[7] Unde anticristi discipuli hic videntur[8] innuere, quod Cristi ordinacio non fuit valida neque prudens, sed oportet ultra ordinacionem Cristi vel legem dominaciones terrificas commisceri. Et hinc oportet prelatos ecclesie ultra hoc, quod Cristus preceperat, seculariter dominari, et per consequens modo lex[9] Cristi contempnitur et lex anticristi, quem[10] David vocat legislatorem, ab infidelibus exaltatur.

Erubescat ergo[11] anticristus ex ista argucia: lex sua, conversacio atque curia facit in ecclesia multa bona,[12] ergo propterea est laudanda, cum sit ad modos et media attendendum, eo quod wlgariter dicitur, quod deus est remunerator adverbiorum; cum dyabolus potest bona facere, sed quia male facit hec[13] bona, debet propterea condempnari, ut presciti persecuntur cum dyabolo Cristi ecclesiam et faciunt occasionaliter multa bona et tamen non ex
|| A *fol.* 214b hinc merentur beatitudinem, || sed dampnacionem perpetuam, cum intencione mala taliter operantur. Et si dicatur,[14] quod intencio huius sedis est recta, quia ad Cristi ecclesiam[15] a facinoribus expurgandum, videtur, quod hec sedes habet bonam intencionem

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[3] *from here on the red commas very conspicuous in the text of A are discontinued* [4] quod *ACαAsh* quoque *E* [5] incussiones *ACEα* incusciones *Ash* [6] redeant *ACα* redeat *EAsh* [7] undique *A* undiquaque *CEαAsh* [8] videntur *ACEα* videtur *Ash* [9] per con. mo. lex *ACα* per hunc modum lex *EAsh* [10] quem *ACαAsh* quam *E* [11] ergo *ACα* igitur *EAsh* [12] bona *ACEAsh*, *α corr. into the text om. α* [13] bona fac., sed q. m. f. hec *CαAsh* bona f., sed q. f. hec *A* bona facte *(? sancte)* fac., sed q. f. male hec *E* [14] dicatur *ACα Ash* dicitur *E* [15] ecclesiam *CαAsh* ecclesia *AE*

logam,[16] sed peccat in specie superbie[17] in medio descendendo, d[18] spernit medium domini sic purgando et capit malum medium erbie hoc bonum ecclesie perpetrando. Et cum secundum Hieymum[b] non mediocriter peccat, qui propositis[19] duobus bonis iittit facilius et elegit minus bonum, manifestum videtur, quod : sedes dimittendo medium Cristi facile eligendo medium turpe is superbie peccat graviter, licet bonum ex facto suo proveniat. sic creditur, quod hec sedes numquam meritorie proderit ecclesie u Cristi, antequam evacuaverit dominacionem,[20] quam iniuste cupat, et benefaciendo vixerit modo sui.

Debet ergo fidelis predicator sicut prelatus ecclesie esse vir angelicus et per penas inferni ac iniustas superbias dyaboli et udia celi peccatores a peccatis trahere[21] per amorem. Et hoc edium non foret laxacio vel stimulus ad[22] peccatoribus in volubro criminis volutandum, sed, sicut patet in vita apostolorum ex leri[23] conversione fructifera, ad antiqua crimina deserendum et iam virtutis fructiferam eligendum. Ideo ve illi, qui sic infideliter eserit legem Cristi!

Hic dictum est sepius, quod ecclesia Cristi debet esse pure ecundum legem suam et non secundum legem anticristi, sed se-

CAP. VIII.

Tercio[a] invehitur per hoc, quod hec sedes cum suis filiis tractat causas iustissime et facit toti ecclesie iusticie complementum. Idem ergo foret hanc sedem taliter dampnare[1] et iusticiam in sponsa Cristi extingwere et per consequens iniusticiam in ipsam conversam in corpus dyaboli suscitare.

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[b] *cp. Corp. iur. can., ed. Leipz. 1879, I, 1418 Decr. p. III, de Consecratione, dist. V. cp. 24, cp. below p. 630*

CAP. VIII. [a] *Cp. above cap. VII Note a*

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[16] *in A is add. in mar.:* Intencio analoga bona *A⁴* [17] superbie *ACEα* superbe *Ash* [18] quod *A* quia *CEαAsh* [19] propositis *ACαAsh* propositus *E* [20] *in AE is add. above the col.:* Sedes pape numquam meritorie proderit ecclesie nisi evacuaverit dominacionem *A²E¹* [21] trahere *ACαAsh* retrahere *E* [22] ad *EAsh* a *ACα* [23] celeri *EAsh* cleri *ACα*

CAP. VIII. [1] dampnare *ACα* deprivare *Ash* depravare *E*

cundum formam, quam Cristus tradidit, regulata. Et sic eccl[esia] Cristi non foret cum istis tradicionibus frivolis onerata. Und[e] quidam fideles habent causam tamquam diabolicam plus suspect[am] ex hoc, quod pro iustificacione[2] illius cause allegatur lex ant[i]cristiana[3] specialiter, dum non fuerit in lege domini fundata. Et [si] ibi fundata fuerit, quare legiste[b] nolunt in radice et forma, qua[m] Cristus tradidit, legem domini honorare? Et sic, ut videtur fideli-
A fol. 214c bus, hec sedes potissime || foret a lege papali[4] atque cesarea ex- purganda et in pura lege domini tamquam fons religionis ecclesie adimplenda.

Et quantum ad obiectus contra hanc legem domini est facile respondere. Anticristus assumit, quod necesse est, ipsum de presbiteris, curatis et prelatis in singulis provinciis respondere, quod non bene faceret nisi habendo leges, secundum quas ita[5] statueret. Ideo necesse est, quod habeat iura canonica, secundum que[6] foret ista triplicitas[c] regulata. Et cum lex ista sicut lex divina semper augmentando[7] procedit, necesse est, legiferum istum iura statuere, secundum que posset totum genus hominum regulare.

Hic dicitur huic[8] refuge infideli, quod, si velit esse Cristi vicarius, renueret omnes tales distribuciones, vocatas spirituales in ecclesia militante, cum Cristus magister noster completissimus dicat Luc. 12[d] cuidam volenti, Cristum inter ipsum et fratrem suum seculariter iudicare: o homo, quis me constituit[9] iudicem aut divisorem super vos? Ubi patet notanti, quomodo Cristus tale[10] iudicium renuebat. Ewangeliste enim sicut et spiritus sanctus forent nimis negligentes,[11] si Cristo deo dante in hoc iudicium non incorporarent ipsum ad instruccionem ecclesie militantis. — Ideo cum Cristus in causa seculari hoc renuit, multo magis eius vicarius

[b] *The Legists. are according to the practice of the Middle Ages. the doctors of the Roman, the Decretists those of the canonical law* [c] *i. e. presbyteri, curati, prelati* [d] *v. 14*

[2] iustificacione *ACaAsh,E*[2] *with mark of ref. below the col.* iutificacione *(ud.) E* [3] anticristiana *AEAsh* antichristiva *Ca* [4] papali *ACaAsh* populi *E* [5] ita *ACa Ash,E*[2] *in mar.* illa *(ud.) E* [6] que *AEAsh* quem *C,a (!)* [7] augm. *ACaAsh* est *(corr. close to* semper *in mar. by E*[2]*)* augm. *E* [8] huic *ACaAsh* hinc *E* [9] constituit *ACEa* constitit *Ash* [10] tale *ACEa* talem *Ash* [11] *in E* neglig...

ltus[12] hoc renueret in causa plus perplexa, magis a lege et **untate** domini elongata. Deus enim quodammodo voluit post **ante,** quod tradiciones humane currerent[13] super bonis[14] tempora-**us, sed** noluit sacerdotes suos cum cura vel particione talium **cupari.** Multo magis ergo voluit, quod sacerdotes sui non iudi-**nt secundum** tradicionem civilem ex civilitate antiqua et tradi-**one nova** fundata in dotacione ecclesie contra Cristum,[15] quia in **c videretur** in causa plus periculosa sacerdotes suos iniungere[16] **dotacionem**[17] contra se ipsum stulcius appropriare.[18] Sed que **aior** blasphemia, nisi forte dicendo, quod lex, quam Cristus insti-**uit, non** est per se sufficiens ad totam ecclesiam militantem regu-**andam?**[19]

CAP. IX.

Semoto ergo isto onere a Cristi vicario foret superfluum istas tradiciones humanas taliter usitare.[1] Ideo cum Cristus et eius verus vicarius debent alleviare ecclesiam et non tradicionibus vel operibus infundabilibus onerare, patet, quod papa non debet super se || infundabiliter particiones huiusmodi acceptare. Et si queritur,[2] quomodo debet de talibus prepositis in ecclesia provideri,[3] dicitur, quod sicut provisum est tempore apostolorum et usque ad dotacionem ecclesie, si non ultra, quod scilicet[4] fideles presbiteri, apostolorum veri vicarii,[5] legem domini constanter et fideliter predicarent et ipsis mortuis populi catholici, in fide orthodoxa instructi, eligerent sibi non hereditarie, sed secundum suum fidele officium alios sacerdotes, quod si ipsi in ministerio sacerdotali deficerent, populi instruendi ipsos abnuerent,[6] et tunc foret ecclesia a discolis et commercacionibus[7] symoniacis expurgata. *A fol. 214d*

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[12] stultus *ACαAsh,E² in mar.* *om. E* [13] curerent *EAsh* terrerent *ACα* [14] bonis *ACEα* hominis *Ash* [15] Cristum *ACαAsh* propium *(sic) E* [16] iniungere *ACα* nungere *E* immergere *Ash* [17] dotacionem *ACEα* dotacioni *Ash* [18] appropriare *ACα,E² in mar.* approbare *Ash,* (probare *up.) E* [19] regulandam *ACα* regulandum *EAsh*

CAP. IX. [1] usitare *ACEAsh* visitare *α* [2] queritur *A* queratur *CEαAsh* [3] provideri *ACαAsh* proiudere *E* [4] quod scilicet fid. *ACEα* quod si fideles *Ash* [5] in *AE is add. in mar:* Fideles presbiteri apostolorum veri vicarii *A²E¹* [6] abnuerent *EAsh* abimerent *ACα* [7] co. *ACαAsh* sic *(corr. into the text by E²)* co. *E*

Videtur enim multis fidelibus, quod anticristus per tradiciones has frivolas forum instituit mercandie,[8] in quo discoli possent cum talibus vocatis beneficiis symoniace commercari. Dicitur enim, quod romana[9] curia est forum huiusmodi, in quo nedum clerici possunt symoniace sibi acquirere proventus venales, sed et,[10] cuiuscunque condicionis homines fuerint, acquirere sibi privilegia inaudita. Et hec est una causa precipua, quare lex Cristi non currit hodie sicut olim.

Et, ut breviter comprehendam, tota causa discrasie vel peccati ecclesie stat in isto, quod populus et precipue clerus ecclesie non sequitur fideliter dominum Iesum Cristum, sed innititur tradicionibus propriis plus innixe,[11] quam innititur legi dei.

Quis, inquam, est iste clericus, qui allegat hodie: hec dicit dominus, sed[12] quod[13] hec dicit romanus episcopus, qui est deus in terris, cui oportet in legibus suis credere[14] tamquam Cristo? Et is hec causa, quare Iordanus[15] conversus est retrorsum ad in triumphantem ecclesiam anhelandum.[16]

Et ita[17] rogant fideles dominum Cristum[18] obnixius, ut dirigat hic suam ecclesiam secundum legem et formam, quam ipse instituit, ut destructis adversitatibus et erroribus universis secura sibi serviat libertate. Amen.[19]

Explicit de citacionibus frivolis.[20]

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[8] *in A* mer *is inserted in the blank later by a new hand (A^4 ?) with darker ink* [9] ro. *AE* in ro. *CαAsh* [10] et *ACα,E^2 in mar. om. EAsh* [11] innixe *A* obnixe *CEαAsh* [12] sed *αAsh* secundum *ACE* [13] quod *AEAsh, C^1 corr. into the text α om. C* [14] credere *AEαAsh* cedere *C* [15] iordanus *AC* yordanus *α* iordanis *EAsh* [16] anhelandum *Aα* anhelandam *C* anelandum *EAsh* [17] ita *ACαAsh,E^2 in mar.* illa *(ud.) E* [18] Cristum *AEαAsh* Iesum *E* [19] Amen *AEαAsh* Amen dico vobis in nomine Iesu Cristi *C* [20] Lipextic tactarrasut *(the first* a *is cr. out and ud., the third* a *ud.)* ed Cicoinitabus lisfrivo te lijsa suverciis Rediveren Mastrigi Jonnisha lephvik *C, i. e.* Explicit tractatus de Cifacionibus frivolis et aliis versuciis reverendi magistri Johannis Vikleph Explicit tractatalus de citacionibus frivolis Incipit tractatus de cruciata id est contra bella clericorum *E* Explicit tractatus de Citacionibus frivolis et aliis versuciis anticristi *αAsh*

XXII.

DE DISSENSIONE PAPARUM.

DE DISSENSIONE PAPARUM.

Shirley's hypothesis, that the following Tract is a letter addressed to Bishop Spenser of Norwich, is based, I believe, on the Explicit of cod. C; the shortness of the Tract may also have influenced Shirley in his supposition. — I am not of his opinion. For such external evidence, as given in cod. C, is very often of merely relative or no value at all; cp. in this respect the tradition referring to Wiclif's so-called Letter of Excuse addressed to Pope Urban VI., Lechler, I, 713 ff. — On the other hand, it is to be observed, that none of the characters of a letter, such as allocution and epistolary conclusion are to be found here; whereas the Tract, following in α, from its very beginning manifests itself as a real letter. Thirdly, no personal reference to the bishop, either in the second or third person is made. — If we further compare this present Tract with its English parallel version, which contains no less than 8 chapters, it becomes evident that a work of this length cannot be taken as a letter. And the marginal gloss at the end of our Tract: hic non est finis *shows that it is, in its present state only a fragment.*

On the contrary, if we compare this fragment with the first chapter of the Cruciata, it appears that the Tract containing in a precise form the Author's gravest objections against the Papal Schism must be looked upon as a pamphlet, intended to arouse an agitation amongst the cultivated classes of England against the Pope. The English version (Arnold, S. E. W. III, 242 ff.) was apparently written for circulation among the people who did not understand Latin.

[1] *Shirley has not seen cod. α. Any evidence derived from this MS. is of not much value, α and C having very likely been copied from the same original.*

[2] *Shirley, Catal. calls also No. 61, 4 a letter; but Lechler has already shown, J. v. W. I, 713 Note 2 that it is not.*

From its very beginning: ideo ad generalem sentenciam dictam alibi *the fragment manifests itself as a supplement of a work which in the main treats of eschatological questions; and the text shows that it is a practical exposition of the signs of the end, referring to the perilous times of the Great Schism. In the first chapter of the Cruciata a large part of the fragment is reproduced verbatim by the Author.*

I. Summary of Contents.

The Papal Schism is according to Matth. XXIV a sign of the end of the world, p. 570—572. The Schism is caused by the Pope's worldly desire and greed for temporal power; therefore, the temporal lords should remove from the Holy See the cause of the struggle, its temporal power and possessions, p. 572. Every one, Pope or Prelate, contending against this measure, which is the only means of restoring to the Church the former peace, is guilty of open heresy, and every community taking up the cause of either pope, is in the service of Satan, p. 573. It is a lie to contend that to the Pope alone belongs the privilege of administering efficient indulgences in his own cause, as has been done while the Crusade to Flanders was in preparation, p. 573. But it is to be hoped that this war is not the work of, or undertaken by, the Pope himself, but by the Friars, who by their whole life and conversation destroy the peace of the Church, p. 574—575.

II. Date of Composition.

With Arnold, S. E. W. III, 341, I am inclined to suppose that the Crusade has not yet commenced, but that the short Tract is written while the first Papal bulls on the Crusade arrived in England. The term elevacio crucis *seems to be in favour of the former supposition. The Papal Bull directed to Bishop Spenser arrived in England about October 1382; shortly after the Bishop communicated it to the Parliament Nov. 9th 1382, see Walsingham, H. A. II, 71 ff., Lechler I, 705—706. The composition, therefore, is to be fixed about the end of 1382 or beginning 1383.*

III. Genuineness.

As to this, there is no reason to entertain any doubt; I refer the reader to a comparison of the Tract with the first chapter of the

..ciata and with the English version printed by Arnold, S. E. W.
, 242 ff. — As to external evidence, cp. Denis, II, 1439; 1456;
57 and Shirley, Catal. No. 74, who quotes Walden, Doctr. Fid. II,
. 49; III Prol., *IV, 39, 45 as his authority. See also the short*
..ices and Indices of codd. A, E and α, as well as the Wiclif Cata-
..ues in cod. 3933; 3935; 4514.

IV. *Not printed heretofore.*[1]

V. *Extant in*

..d. 3929 = A fol. 217ᶜ—218ᵃ { *A¹ = Corrector (black ink)*, *A² = Glosser* }
..d. 4527 = C fol. 66ᵃ—67ᵃ   C¹ = Glosser
..d. 1437 = E fol. 67ᵃ—68ᵃ   E¹ = Corrector
in the Imperial Library at Vienna,
..od. X. E. 9. = α fol. 208ᵃ—209ᵃ ohne Korrektor
the latter in the Univ.-Library at Prague.

VI. The Manuscripts.

A. ***Their relationship.*** *Although the critical material is very small, the group A—E, as in former cases, here also may be discerned; nearly all the readings differing from C and α are common to both, their own variations consisting in small graphical errors. Readings, characteristic for their mutual relation, are* ad generalem *note 7;* gracie nisi *12;* ecclesiam *24;* sunt *33;* est *36;* cum *41;* de *(om.) 46;* ergo *9; 23; 29. The material is too slender to show, whether E has been copied from A or from another codex of the same line.*

C—α also are related to one another; see their Explicit (cp. epistola ad episc. N.) colleccio *39.*

B. ***The best Codex.*** *E, here again, has been copied in an utterly careless manner. A and C appear of the same value*[2]*; the best is, I suppose α, whose readings nearly in every case give the correct text; where this is not the case, its readings are, at least, possible.*

I will take, therefore, α as the basis of my text.

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[1] *but see the English version printed by Arnold, S. E. W. III, 242 ff.*

[2] *Perhaps C is the better of the two; cp.* monstrosa *note 4;* gracie nisi *12;* ecclesiam *24;* sunt *33;* sic *38.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DISSENSIONE PAPARUM.[a]

Iste sunt sex raciones cuiusdam discipuli magistri Johannis Wygleph de questione, utrum liceat seculari clerum delinquentem castigare, et dicitur quod sic.[1]

α fol. 208a lin. 1

[2] Quia[3] ista monstruosa[4] dissensio inter papas videtur significare[5] tempora | periculosa, que secundum apostolum[b] novissimis temporibus sunt futura, et ¦ in prophecia[6] Cristi Matth. 24[c] expresse

[a] *The Tract bears also the title: De Schismate, cp. Shirley, Catal. p. 25 No. 74, and the Explicit by James, who in the seventeenth century made extracts of a number of MSS. in the Bodleyan and Old Royal Collection at Oxford, see Shirley, Catal. p. XI; the Explicit here runs thus, p. 228: Explicit tractatus Magistri Johannis W. de cismate et Deo gratias. According to Bale, Ill. Scrip. Summ. fol. 156a, the title is either: De Papa Romano, since Bale in his list gives this Tract the Incipit: 'Pro eo, quod haec inso'ita dissensio' or: De Ponti-*

[1] *This is the Explicit of preceding Tract in cod. α fol. 207b* [2] *cod. C fol. 66a lin. 1 cod. A fol. 217c lin. 25 cod. E fol. 67a lin. 36* [3] Via C, *the initial Q has been omitted by the scribe* Quia AEα *in E opposite the first line* cor. (correctus) *i. e. the Tract, after having been finished by the first copier, has undergone a correction* [4] monstruosa αCE monstrosa A [5] significare ACE signare α [6] prophecia α prophetia ACE

...e, secundum declarata alibi| [d] prophetata, ideo ad generalem sentenciam, dictam alibi,[e] videtur sentencia specialis addenda ...re, que [8] a communiori ad particularius procedit.

...icum romanorum Schismate, with the Incipit: Ob inauditas lites inter ...os duos; From a mere glance at these two Incipits it is clear that they are Bale's Latin translations of the commencement of the corresponding English Tract: For þis uncouþe discencioun þat is bitwixe þes popes semeþ to signyfie þe perillous tyme þat Poul seiþ schulde come in þes laste dayes, cp. T. Arnold, S. E. W. III, 242. In Arnold's volumes the title of the (English) Tract corresponds to this: De Pontificum romanorum Schismate. Shirley's supposition, cp. Catal. p. 24, that the Tract De Papa (quoted by Walden, Doctrinale fidei, II c. 49. III, Prol. IV 39, 45) is identical with Bale's is not correct; for W. wrote, indeed, a Tract with this title; Matthew has printed it, E. W. h. u. (Nro. XXVIII) p. 458—482. Likewise Arnold's opinion S. E. W. III, 242) that the Latin Vienna Tract De Dissensione Paparum, printed below, is not identical with his English one, the Latin tract being much shorter than the English version, is not correct. Comparing both Tracts we perceive at once that both are parallel versions. The Vienna Tract which I print below is merely a fragment of the english one, being the first chapter of the whole work (which had 8 chapters). This is evident from the marginal gloss in C at the closing of the Tract: non est hic finis, quia deberent esse 8 capitula. *The two catalogues of the Wiclifiana in the Vienna codices 4514, fol. 102 ff. and 3933, fol. 195 ascribe, indeed, eight chapters to the present Tract with the Incipit as given below and the Explicit:* est in clericis iam perversis. *which in this form in both Indices is given. From these few words it is difficult to decide whether the English version printed by Arnold, which likewise contains eight chapters is the same as the work of the two catalogues. I have not been so fortunate as to discover the whole Latin parallel version in any of the Vienna MSS.; I believe, however, that in the English Tract the whole matter of W.'s original work is given. — A short Summary of Contents is given by Vaughan, Tracts and Treat., p. 64—65. As to the inner relation of the Latin to the English version, cp. below note f* [b] *cp. I Tim. 4, 1—2; II Tim. 3, 1—8; I Thess. 5, 1—3 etc. etc.* [c] *v. 11; 24* [d] *for instance in the Sermo de Matth. XXIV* [e] *im Sermo de Matth. XXIV*

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[7] ideo generalem *ACα, but in A in mar. is add.* ad ideo ad *(ud.)* gener. *E, but in mar. is add.* post *E¹* [8] more nat. que *α* que more nat. que *ACE*

Primo[f] igitur[9] videtur[10] supponendum tamquam probabile quod ista dissensio propter cupiditatem mundani honoris et temporalium adiacencium papatui est causata.[11] Nam supposita in papa sicut fuit in Petro dotacione pura, quam ex Cristo habuit, videtur quod supra bona virtutum et gracie non sonabit, nisi[12] laborem et sollicitudinem in statu pauperi addidit[13]; sed propter ista numquam fuisset talis contencio. Ideo relinquitur, quod propter honores mundanos et secularia dominia, que sunt adiecta papatui, ista contencio est exorta. Et cum causa efficiens sit istius condicionis, quod illa posita effectus ponitur, et illa ablata effectus tollitur, videtur, quod ablata ista cupidine temporalis dominii et honoris ista contencio[14] sedaretur. Et[g] cum pertinet ad imperatorem et alios reges, qui contra legem domini ecclesiam stulte dotaverunt,[15] sibi satisfacere, videtur,[16] quod ad illos pertinet prudenter auferre hoc dissensionis seminarium, tum[17] quia propter hanc causam gladium portant, tum eciam, quia eorum interest bona sua a deo eis data potestative restituere brachio seculari. Sic enim sedaretur in ecclesia luciferina dissensio, et quod maius est, defenderetur utrobique lex dei, et destrueretur heretica presumpcio anticristi.

Tercio[18] videtur, quod, quicunque papa vel prelatus ecclesie

[f] *The English version is no close literal translation, but a free transformation of the Latin matter, as will be seen from the following: and firste it semeþ, þat discencioun of þis popehede is for covetise of worschipe and wynnynge of þis world, þat bi cautele of þe fende is knyttid to þis office. Cp. this very passage in Cruciata cap. I note d* [g] *In the English text this runs so: and so emperour and kyngis, þat synneden in þis dowynge, schulde restore to seculer men þat þei bi foly alyende; ne þe graunt was nouȝt leeful on neiþer on nor þe oþer partye, siþþe hem wanted leeve of Good þe cheif Lord, and bi title of þis office þei holden*

[9] igitur *Cα* ergo *AE* [10] *in A is add. below the col.:* Quare dissensio est inter papas *in CE is add. in mar.:* Prima conclusio [11] causata *ACα,E¹* *in mar.* tanta *E* [12] gracie non son. nisi *Cα* gracie nisi *AE* non sonabat *E¹* *in mar.* nisi [13] addidit *A in mar.* addi *(ud.)* dicit *E* *om. Cα* [14] contencio *ACE* condicio *α* [15] dotaverunt *Cα* dotaverant *AE* [16] *in CE is add. in mar.:* Secunda conclusio [17] tum *Cα* cum *(!) AE* [18] *in CE is add. in mar.:* Tercia conclusio

ti restitucioni dissenserit, est manifestus hereticus legi[19] Cristi t caritati ecclesie contrarius et per consequens tamquam perturator pacis ecclesie a fidelibus renuendus.[h] Talis enim plus affectat[20] temporalium dominium[21] et honores adversus legem domini, uam dilatacionem caritatis in ecclesia vel salutem propriam, quod sset[22] expressa condicio meridiani demonii.[i] Non igitur[23] noceret, ed prodesset ecclesie carere tali demonio, et ad eius destruccionem n causa dei ecclesia[24] sollicite laboraret.

Quarto[25] videtur, quod, quecunque communitas laborat alterum istorum paparum restituere ad priorem cesaream dignitatem, laborat in causa dyaboli contra Cristum. Cristus enim dedit legem[26] multiplicem suis sacerdotibus, quod non taliter dominentur, et pro defensione huius legis et aliarum monuit suos fideles sub obtentu beatitudinis laborare et[27] ab infidelibus sustinuit durissimam[28] || passionem. Quis igitur[29] presumeret talem radicem venenosam firmare in ecclesia contra pacem eius titulo ministerii anticristi? || *α fo. 208b*

Et ex istis quinto[30] videtur probabile, quod manifestum mendacium sit et abhominacio desolacionis, quod Cristus concedat indulgenciam a pena et a[31] culpa, vel quodcunque aliud spirituale suffragium cuicunque in hac causa dyaboli contra se ipsum assidue laboranti. Tunc enim Cristus foret sibi ipsi contrarius, peccator maximus et pacis ecclesie maxime turbativus; que cum sint manifesta blasphemia, nec sine concessione et auctoritate triumphantis ecclesie valent talia nominata suffragia, cum Ioh. quinto[k] dicat de se ipso, quod non potest filius facere, nisi quod viderit patrem facientem, patet, quam vera est negativa, quam sepe exposui,[l] quod

[h] *cp. below Cruciata cap. II p. 591 and with ref. to the following ibidem p. 591* [i] *cp. Ps. 91, 6* [k] *v. 19* [l] *for inst. Trial. 358 ff.*

[19] legi *α* et legi *ACE* [20] affectat *Cα* affectaret *E* affecta *A corr. later into* affectaret [21] dominium *α* dominia *AE* domini *C* [22] esset *ACE* esse *α* [23] igitur *Cα* ergo *AE* [24] ecclesia *Cα* ecclesiam *AE* [25] *in CE is add. in mar.:* Quarta conclusio [26] legem *ACEα* longe *(ud.) E¹ in mar.* [27] et *ACα* *om. E* [28] durissimam *CEα* diversissimam *(!) A* [29] igitur *Cα* ergo *AE* [30] *in CE is add. in mar.:* Quinta conclusio [31] a *Cα* *om. AE*

non est de substancia fidei, quod talis absolucio vel indulgei capite triumphantis ecclesie sit concessa.

Et[32] cum tota hec militans multitudo in filios dei, qui ex deo, et filios dyaboli, qui sunt ex parte sua, licet absc sit[33] divisa, ex isto tamen facto potest capi manifestum iudi qui sunt servi[34] Cristi et qui servi illius in execucione illius sterii, cum manifestum[35] videtur,[36] quod illi sunt servi dyaboli executur hanc crucis elevacionem contra caritatis regulan pensis, opere vel consensu.[m]

Et[37] cum supponi potest, quod Urbanus noster non auct hoc facinus, licet a pseudofratribus sit[38] seductus, videtur p bile, quod fratres promoventes hanc causam in suis predicacio et spoliantes ecclesiam suis falsis colleccionibus[39] sunt pre hostes ecclesie et debent sibi tam fraudulenter ablata restit antequam deus dimittat crimen, vel antequam ecclesia debeat recipere ut fideles. Et eadem videtur sentencia contra ps cardinales et nostrates stantes in curia, qui regnum nostrum lorate spoliant multis viis.[40 n] Non enim videtur tali comitiv specte credendum in fide, nec supponendum tamquam prob quod non errant, quod[41] in isto facto contra fidem, spem et tatem tam notabiliter erraverunt.

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[m] *the English Mendicant Friars are meant here who made th sade of Urban against Clement the special subject of their sermo Walsingham, H. A., II, 72 ff.; Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III*
[n] *cp. Cruciata cap. I p. 590;*

Curia wlt marcas, bursas exhaurit et arcas;
Si burse parcas, fuge papas et patriarchas,

runs a ludicrous verse known at the time, cp. cod. (Vienna) CCCCX fol. 181 in the „Curia Christi, modus curie Rome".

[32] *in E is add. in mar.:* Sexta conclusio *om. in C, where all the pre glosses of this kind are to be found* [33] sit *Ca* sunt *AE* [34] servi *AEa* se dum *C, but in mar. by the texthand* servi [35] manifestum *ACa* mamanifest [36] videtur *Ca* est *AE* [37] *in E is add. in mar.:* Septima conclusio *CEa* sic *A* [39] colleccionibus *AE, in C* col. *is covered with an ink blot, fore illegible, in a it is added later by another hand into the blanc space* *AE* hiis *Ca* [41] quod *Ca* cum *AE*

t ex istis potest octavo[42] fidelis colligere, quod sicut sathan[43] eccionem unius ossis venenati intoxicavit clerum et populum, ·undos[44] ad bella et discordias irritavit,[45] sic per apercionem mendacii de[46] thezauro sue ficticie,[o] quem habet de suis ab- ›nibus et indulgenciis, totam ecclesiam discrasiat. Nam eius ıs nescit discernere inter quod[47] debet credere et sperare. enim debet fidelis habere, quod post dolorem de crimine sit ritus, et post absolucionem presbiteri sit a domino absolutus. ‖ *a fol. 209a* ıec papa nec peccator debet credere, quod sit simpliciter ab- s,[p] sicut non debet credere, quod sit predestinatus, vel credere, ad dampnacionem perpetuam sit prescitus, sed primum debet re, quia nisi homo speraret, quod salvabitur, periret excitacio ıerendum, et breviter quecunque virtus viantis et rethe dya- ad libere peccandum in tota viante ecclesia panderetur. Vi- enim sathan innuere, quod causa dei de reduccione sue ordi- nis, in qua clerum instituit, cessare[48] debuit et illud os vene- n, quod est cleri dotacio, sub obtentu absolucionis a pena et lpa debet defendi. Et sic[49] more suo, quo temptavit Cristum h. quarto,[q] promittit suo vicario mendaciter per talem fictam lucionem omnia regna mundi.[r] Facile quidem esset ad que- ue regna mittere mendacia tamquam fidem et succedente op- ınitate movere suos filios ad mendacem perfidiam prosequen- ,[50] ut si excommunicat quemcunque impedientem suum propo- n in ista crucis ereccione, faciliter posset multipliciter suis filiis ılum et thezaurum de regno Anglie exhaurire, et sic quecun-

[o] *English text: so by on openynge of tresour of his lesyngis* [p] *cp. for instance Trial. 356—57* [q] *v. 8—9* [r] *English text: but as þe fend byhiȝte to Crist falsly al rewmes, so myȝte falsehede walken in purchas of þis lordschipe. The following conclusion of the Tract is very freely translated from the latin. With ref. to the remaining chapters, cp. Arnold, S. E. W. III. 244—266*

[42] *in CE is add. in mar.*: Octava conclusio [43] sathan *CEa* sathanas *A* ıcundos *ACa* iracundas *E* [45] irritavit *AEa* irratavit *C* [46] de *Ca* ·*AE* [47] quod *Ca* quod *(ud.) A* quid *(?) E* [48] cessare *AEa* cesare *C*, *is add. later with pale ink* [49] sic *Ca* *om. AE* [50] prosequendum *Ca* ·sequendum *AE*

que regna de manu mundi principum sibi acquirere per simulata mendacia tamquam fidem.[51] [a]

Explicit epistola missa ad episcopum Nortwicensem propter cruciatam.[52]

[a] *cp. Cruciata cap. II p. 596*

[51] *here in A is added in mar.:* Non est hic finis quia deberent esse octo capitula [52] *without an Explicit A* plit laēp Smias da peipūsco Nortcenwisem p ha Wi pp Tamcircua *C i. e.* Explicit epistola missa ad episcopum Nortwicensem per Johannem Wiclif propter cruciatam explicit de dissensione pape Incipit tractatus de oracione et ecclesie purgacione *E*

XXIII.

CRUCIATA.

CRUCIATA.

I. Division.

Introduction: Rom. VIII, 28, cap. I.

First division — (positive part) cap. I—IV.

e Crusade is not to be regarded as an evil in every respect,
s

(a) to the total perversity of popedom and its supporters (the Pope considered as Antichrist), cap. I—II.

(b) to the bright future which the Schism of the two Popes has opened out to the Church, cap. III—IV.

Second division — (negative part) —: Objections raised against
-ism of the Crusade (and their answers), cap. V—X:

(a) no attention should be paid to a few voices here and there, cap. V—VI,

(b) the pope has been lawfully chosen etc., cap. VII,

(c) Christ had endowed His Apostles, therefore the Pope also, with spiritual power, cap. VIII,

(d) this spiritual grace is indispensable for the absolution of sins, cap. IX—X.

Conclusion: they that take the sword, shall perish by the
cap. X.

II. Summary of Contents.

hap. I. All things work together for the good to them that love
also the Crusade which is being preached to the members of
lish Church, p. 588; for it has exposed the Pope's hypocrisy
rldliness: it is not a struggle for moral or religious rights,
rely for worldly authority, p. 589—590.

hap. II. (1) It is the task of the civil authorities to maintain
— it becomes their duty, therefore, to remove the cause and

root of all discord for England, i. e. Rome, p. 590—591. Eve war is in itself an evil, and a war caused by a Pope is equivale to the work of Antichrist, for which reason all association with t Pope should be abandoned, p. 592. The efforts, therefore, of those wl take part in the war, for the reestablishment of the papal authori are against Christ's law, which does not permit worldly power; an the Pope's promises of absolution from all sin and debt are lies sug gested by Satan, p. 592—593. It is, indeed, scarcely credible, th Pope Urban himself should have a hand in the matter, the Friar rather, his friends and helfers, must be regarded as the real enemie of the Church and State; but at the same time both Popes manife themselves to be Antichrists by their waging this unnatural confli and, more especially, be their false assertions concerning indulgence p. 593—594. As Satan once poisoned the human race by that roo of all sins, pride, so he again worked mischief by the introductio of worldly possessions connected with the Church, which is contrar to the law of Christ, p. 594—595. By this means he has corrupt the whole of the Western Church, the Crusade especially being in eve respect against Christ, for He commanded His disciples to cultiva humility and brotherly love; and in like manner it is against the welfa of the State, p. 495—596. Conclusion: the Crusaders should jo each other in a contest against both Popes. At this moment are i fact opposed to each other not the two Popes, but the followers o Christ and the followers of the devil (personified in popedom p. 596—597.

Chap. III. *The Crusade is the doing of none other than t arch enemy of God, who for the disturbance of the Western Chur had originated the sect of the Friars, p. 597—601.*

Chap. IV. *The Pope is no longer the shepherd of the Churc but her betrayer, who in giving occasion to schism disobeys Christ law, the four Orders following his example, p. 601—603. — B Christ's true soldiers must place their trust in the Lord, who has a ready divided the head of one Antichrist, and declare themselves bold on His side in the struggle of Christendom against papal authori p. 604.*

Chap. V. *First objection: They are but the voices of the fe that declare themselves in this manner. God's voice is for the si of the greater number and therefore for the crusading Popes and the party, p. 605. — The expression* vox populi, vox Dei *is shown to*

ntenable, p. 606. The authority of the Scriptures witnesses against te leaders of the war and their supporters; pious priests who withdraw themselves from the struggle must be permitted to preach undisturbed, p. 606—607; the Pope before all others is guilty of apostasy for inciting to war, instead of following Christ in all humility, p. 608.

Chap. VI. As thus the Pope rejects Christ, so Christianity and, more especially, the secular Lords should reject him, p. 609. Christ suffered in all meekness, but did not set men against each other and exhaust the land; the Pope tells a diabolical lie, when he says that he is Christ's representative and is empowered to promise salvation to all who fight in his cause, p. 610—612.

Chap. VII. *Second objection:* The Pope having been lawfully chosen has a right to offer such a reward, p. 612. — *Answer:* Neither the cardinals, nor any other man has any right to choose a head for the Church contrary to God's will (lots cast for Matthias, Acts I), but still less a Pope who places the lives of his followers in jeopardy for the furtherance of his own private and worldly designs, p. 613. In sharp contrast to him behold Christ who told Peter to sheath his sword, who rode unpretentiously on a ass, forbid murder (I Tim. III), prayed for His enemies, endeavoured to procure the peace of the people, permitted Himself to be led as a lamb to the slaughter, p. 613—615. The action of the Pope's Crusade is in every respect an opposite one to the example thus set. A better gospel should be sought for by the Pope for the foundation of his cause, p. 615. Further personal dissimilarities between Christ and the Pope: summe humilis — superbus; in iniuriis paciens — proprie iniurie vindicativus; pauper — summe dives; non habens, ubi caput reclinaret — habens castra; ministrativus — dominatissimus; peragravit civitates in magno labore ewangelizans — inclusus in castris mittit bullas, p. 616—617.

Chap. VIII. *Third objection:* The power over souls with which Christ endowed His Apostles cannot yet be exhausted, p. 617. — *Answer:* This power was intended for the performance of good and not of evil; it would, moreover, be possible that those who came after the Apostles, should on account of their sins have lost this power, which cannot surely be bestowed by cardinals who are apt to fall into error concerning the fitness of person (Popess Anna) p. 617—619. It would, therefore, be possible for the Church to exist without a Pope or cardinals, indeed without the former it would enjoy greater peace, p. 619—621.

Chap. IX. Fourth objection: If the Pope really does not possess such power, then he can forgive no sins; there could be no Sacrament of Penitence, and all religious life would cease, p. 622. Answer: The Holy Sacrament of Penitence is certainly indispensable (Polemic against Auricular Confession: inner confession should suffice, proved from the Bible and history, p. 622—624), but, at the same time, all pious priests, according to Matth. XVI and John XX, have power to dispense forgiveness of sins, p. 624—625.

Chap. X. Last objection: As the Pope is entitled to grant deliverance from sin, he is equally entitled to reward his soldiers who maintain his cause against his adversaries with full absolution, p. 626. — Answer: Both, Popes and bishops should go to war, not against their people, but against their own shortcomings, the unbelief of their adherents and of the people at large, p. 626—627. Moreover, it is not even in the Pope's power to forgive all sin (I John V; Matth. XII), people must therefore beware of his monkish confederates who spread such false reports in his name, p. 628—629. The Church and the people would receive far greater benefit, if the doctrine of Peter's two swords so often misrepresented were fully understood, p. 629—631, and everywhere preached: they that take the sword shall perish by the sword, p. 631—632.

III. Date of Composition.

Lechler has already fixed the summer of 1383 as the date.[1] *There is nothing in the Tract from which to determine the period more definitely. That the Crusade had already begun is to be seen from the passage:* in isto eventu *p. 589; on the other hand, the conclusion of the campaign is nowhere mentioned;* laborantes in ista crucis ereccione, *p. 596, rather implies that the campaign was still proceeding; cp. also I note f.*[2]

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) cp. Expl. in cod. A and B, p. 632

(2) cp. Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna MSS., above p. 7

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[1] *J. v. W. I, 708.*

[2] *The conclusion of the discussion on the Holy Communion is hinted at p. 59— and the prohibition of the open preaching of W.'s Itinerant Preachers is presupposed— cp.* predic. hodie interdicta *p. 598. The royal mandate directed to the Archbishop—*

(3) *The Sermo optimus contra Cruciatam in cod. Univ. Prag. III. G. 11. fol. 122^b—126^b contains a reference to the Tract on fol. 124^b, cp.* Similiter ut patet ex dictis *etc. with cap. IX, conclusion*

(4) *cp. the very frequent agreements with De Dissensione Paparum and with De Pont. Rom. Schismate, which is the parallel text in English, proved by Arnold, S. E. W. III, to be genuine, cp. I, note d; II, f; g; h*

(5) *Bale, Ill. Script. Summ., as Lewis says in his Hist. of Life and Suff. 164; 166; Bale is also Shirley's authority. In the edition of 1548 the Summarium does not contain the title of the Tract.*

(6) *cod. A, notice on front-cover*

(7) *cod. B, notice on the inner side of the front-cover*

(8) *cod. G, index on front-cover*

(9) *cod. E, index on front-cover; as to (6), (7), (8) and (9) cp. above General Introd. IV, Description of the codices, p. XXIX ff.*

(10) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1439; 1457; 1468; 1473; 1504; 2106*

(11) *Shirley, Catalog. No. 75 p. 25*

(12) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568; more especially I, 708.*

Internal evidence is to be found nearly on every page of the Tract; I cannot here enter into details. But I refer the reader to the very frequent agreement of single passages with others in W.'s genuine works: cap. I, note e; g; II, h; k; p; III, a; IV, c; e; VI, c; VII, a; p; r; t; VIII, f; i; IX, b; f; g.

V. *Not printed heretofore.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 233^a—239^d { A^1 = *thick red hand*; A^2 =, A^3 = } *Correctors*

cod. 3933 = B fol. 63^a—70^a B^1 = *only Corrector*

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and his suffragans which was issued with reference to Wiclif's simple priests, is dated from June 26, 1382, cp. Foxe, Acts and Monum. ed. 1632 Issip. I p. 577; Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 156 (where July 12th is given as date, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 677, note 1).

cod. 4527 = C fol. 134^a*—*144^a $\begin{cases} C^1 = \textit{Glosser of fol. 1, black han} \\ C^2 = \textit{thin hand} \\ C^3 = \textit{pale hand} \\ C^4 = \textit{accidental correct.} \end{cases}$ *Correc-tors* (C^2–C^4)

cod. 3930 = D fol. 239^d*—*250^c $\begin{cases} D^1 = \textit{small black hand} \\ D^2 = \textit{thick red hand} \end{cases}$

cod. 1337 = E fol. 57^d*—*67^a $\begin{cases} E^1 = \textit{red ink (quotations underline} \\ E^2 = \textit{small black hand, not clear} \\ E^3 = \textit{main Corrector} \\ E^4 = \text{sciant } \textit{etc. cap. X} \end{cases}$

cod. 4536 = G fol. 237^d*—*253^a *without Corrector*

all in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

VII. The Manuscripts.

(A) ***Their relationship.*** *(1) Group A—E. That some co nnection exists between these two may be concluded (1) from the ver great consensus apparent in their corrupted passages, cp.* corditer *IV, 47* 20 *V, 7;* excog. *VII, 59;* veh. *VII, 58;* Matth. 17 *VIII, 17;* ad ult *VIII, 55;* perf. *IX, 27;* ips. *VI, 24;* culp. *VI, 26;* nol. *VI, 29,* quant. *VIII, 14;* eccl. *(om.) VIII, 69;* idem *IX, 45; cp. also IX, 42; 45; — (2) from the decisive passages, such as* congruit *IX, 46;* solic. *X, 47;* expurg. *X, 83; especially from* sciens dic. *X, 25 and* papa ergo *X, 28; (3) from the conformity of the marginal glosses:* Indulg. *II, 41;* Serg. *III, 3;* No. tim. *III, 49, 51;* Indulg. *IV, 21;* Mil. Chr. *IV, 45;* Nota mult. *V, 1;* Nota bell. *V, 34;* Bell. *VI, 22;* Obed. *VI, 56;* Bell. *VII, 11;* Pugn. Pape *VII, 46;* Pati *VII 62;* Vi. Chr. *VII, 70;* odis ve. vi. *VII, 81, as to this, cp. the cod.* Pot. *VIII, 10;* Ele. Pa. *VIII, 27;* An. Pa. mul. *VIII, 32 (with ref to this, cp. the notes of the other codd.);* Pot. qu. hab. *VIII, 39;* Eccl *VIII, 45;* Pot. s. a. d. *VIII, 62;* Ind. *VIII, 67;* Sacram. *VIII, 70* Absol. *IX, 4;* Conf. *IX, 8;* Absol. *IX, 36;* No. *IX, 44;* Pen. *IX 51;* Bell. *X, 2;* Pugn. Sac. *X, 12;* Glad. duo *X, 52;* Duo gl. *X, 9(* *It is characteristic of these two Manuscripts, (1) that the glosses ar at first rare, towards the middle of the text they suddenly increase i number (from cap. VII), and then as suddenly decrease from cap. X (2) that the marginals contained in A and E are not found in th other codices, and (3) the glosses of the remaining four texts are qui independent of these and of each other.* ***A is not E's original,*** *cp the lacuna* in peccato et ad bellum *etc. II, 69; according to thi*

must have had another source. E is not A's original, cp. ad c fing. *etc. IV, 10; 11;* dicit ibid. *VII, 38;* sciant *etc. X, 51.* ' *here sets in to supply E's omissions; the scribe of A could, there-*e, *only have had as his original the text of E after its having* n *corrected by* E^3, *which I do not consider probable.*

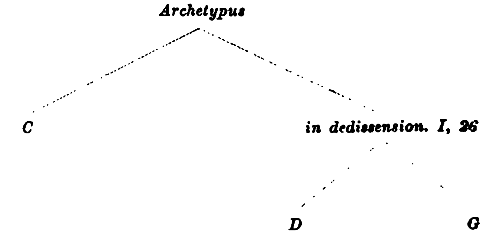
E's corrections also, (such at least as come into consideration) nnot *be traced to A, but rather to B, or some codex closely con-*cted *with B (cp. below p. 644), cp.* ecclesie *VIII, 69;* adult. *VIII,* ;; popul. *VII, 48;* auderent *III, 61; especially* corrob. *IV, 28,* ich *appears to me conclusive;* omnia *IV, 3;* eius *III, 8;* per *II,* 12; est ista *II, 115 (position);* vexion. *II, 75;* sepe *IX, 15;* nesc. *X, 47;* lex *V, 4;* nisi *X, 67 and especially* non—enim *IV, 8;* E^3 *all these passages has followed the readings of B, or of some codex* f *an earlier date standing in close connection with it.*

Conclusion. A and E have originated from the same archetype, ut *not from each other.* E^3 *sprung from B, not from the group* CDG *(cp. e. i.* populum *VII, 48;* eius *III, 8;* sepe *IX, 15 etc., cp. also the readings of B—*E^3 *just mentioned).*

(2) Group C—D—G. That these belong to one class is evident (1) from the great conformity of their readings, which in itself possess considerable value and are independent of the rest as compared with A—E, B; I take a chapter ad libitum as an example, cap. IV: studios. *note 13;* umqu. *15;* de. *(om.) 20;* potest. *31;* pro t. n. *42; as special peculiarities cp.* subi. *I, 29;* ideo *II, 108;* susc. *II, 37;* crist. *III, 31;* quod *III, 27; 67;* sic *V, 31;* sunt *V, 66;* quia *V, 75;* nu. *VIII, 3; they read the same in 54 passages which differ from the consensus of the rest; — (2) from a great number of words which according to the sense belong to each other, but whose order is in itself quite irrelevant, cp.* forc. sit *II, 18;* spir. suff. v. p. *V, 63;* i. gr. e. *VI, 65;* g. i. *X, 84 and many more, which I will make no further mention of in this place; in all these instances, C—D—G hold to one version, A—E, B to another. — Therefore C—D—G and A—E, B must have sprung from different archetypes.*

A nearer connection between either of these three codices cannot be thought of, as their dissimilarity is in some passages very marked. But D—G stand in closer connection to each other than to C; they have probably had their origin from the same source, cp. the monstrous form in dedissensionibus *I, 26 (cp. the remaning readings) and in corroboration of this supposition* illegit. *II, 73;* intell. *IV, 4;* conting. *V,*

15; tal. te. V, 17; talis V, 37; sic V, 78; sub V, 80; volu. VI, 25; eos VII, 40; equit. VII, 41; deus VIII, 63; omnia IX, 11; consone X, 60; agnicul. X, 89, so that the relation these codices held to each other will be shown by the following diagram:



(3) B does not belong to either of these groups. It invariably pursues a direction peculiar to itself. In 55 instances it conforms with A—E, in 15 only with C—D—G, it has therefore closer affinity with the former.

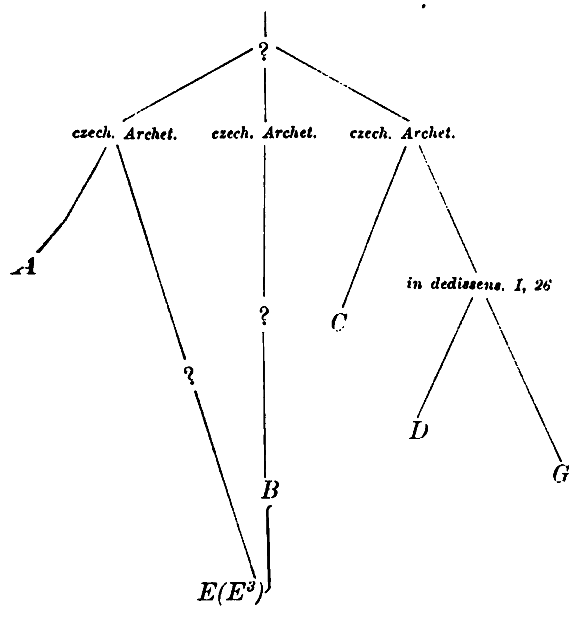
(B) **The best Codex.** I have counted 520 different readings. In the 355 decisive passages, E has the correct reading in 235 instances, G 246, D 247, B 253, C 283, A 296. E is carelessly written and of little value; its writer also copied negligently (sinib. I, 12; si quis I, 25; ista I, 34; foret II, 20; salveri II, 25; pud. II, 77; constit. II, 119; debrev. III, 58 and so on); the scribe did not understand the words of his original: tanti I, 31; incurr. in tere II, 3; contrariata II, 65; avide III, 48; pro edific. IV, 50; salan. V, 83 and so on. Even when the degeneration of orthography which had taken place at that time is considered, some of his forms are startling: discensio I, 23; 26; 39, which otherwise used to be correct; ac for hac I, 36; ipsios IV, 9; studiat IV, 18; sceler. II, 6, more especially the curious sic I,14; 20; II, 26; 33 and 36 and so on.

In 82 passages, E in distinction to the others, gives a wrong reading, B in 79; D in 47; G in 43; C in 20, A in 18. Judged according to this, E and B, as well as D and G cannot be taken into consideration as a basis of the text. Of the two latter, judging from the internal worth of their readings, I am inclined to give D the preference (cp. ope II, 79; 97; ista temp. toll. IV, 28; mordo. VI, 54; fing. tam VI, 68; bon. VIII, 65), although it is in several passages evident that D's scribe could not always decipher the text of his original, cp. as striking instances minim. VIII, 20 and collobe-

IV, 28. — The copyist of B is not happy in his independent ngs; in one case only, he has a correct one in distinction to est, in 59 instances, as I have said above, a wrong one. Though fore his text is preferable to E's, he cannot enter the competition with A—C, or D—G.

I have not arrived at a certain conclusion concerning the merits and A. But in consideration of the fact that the hand in C which the Cruciata is comparatively the best of the Vienna series (in 6 Tracts of these volumes C has in 13 instances formed the basis t ext), and that C in only 15 cases out of 355 gives a wrong g against the consensus of the others (A 19, B 57), I am in- to accord it the preference.

The following diagram is the result:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

CRUCIATA.[1][a]

CAP. I.

|| *C fol. 134a lin. 1*

|| [2] Cum secundum fidem catholicam Rom. octavo[b] timent | deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, ac multi eventus | irregula crebro eveniunt, necesse est, illos eventus | ad bonum ecclesie venire. Sicut autem[4] sunt in illis operibus aliqua positiva[5] aliqui defectus, qui resonant in peccatum, sic necesse est, in operibus aliqua a[6] deo[7] bona contingere et aliqua mala[8] peccati a contrario anticristo. Et hinc sicut discipuli dyaboli in errorem talibus eventibus[9] inducuntur, sic discipuli Cristi ex bonis isto

CAP. I. [a] *Also under the title:* contra bella clericorum *in the of B, Inc. and Expl. of E; Shirley, Cat. No. 75: Contra Cruci Papae, according to Lewis, Hist. No. 203, p. 166. Lewis's auth is Bale, but the latter's Summarium (of 1548) does not mentio present Tract* [b] *v. 28*

CAP. I. [1] Explicit tractatus de quatuor sectis novellis et eorum e bus ecclesie infectivis *A* De Cruciata id est contra bella clericorum *B* wi *Expl. and Inc. CG* Explicit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario etc. Iohannem de Turnow *D* Explicit tracta. de citacionibus frivolis Incipit tra tus de Cruciata sive contra bella clericorum *E* [2] *A fol. 223ᵃ lin. 20 B fol. lin. 1 D fol. 239ᵈ lin. 6 E fol. 57ᵈ lin. 35 G fol. 237ᵇ lin. 1* [3] irr lares *ABDEG,C¹ in mar.* regulares *C* [4] autem *ABCDG* aut *E* [5] posi *ABCEG* posita *D* *in C is add. in mar.:* Bona ex malis elicibilia *C¹* [6] a *DEG om. C* [7] deo *ABCDG* domino *E* [8] mala *ABE* mali *CDG* [9] e tibus *ABCEG* erroribus *D*

entuum corriguntur. Sillogizant enim super[10] filios dyaboli ex[11] libus singularibus,[12] quod necesse est dare regulariter[13] victoriam eritati, et[14] quod ex talibus operibus eveniunt[15] bona ecclesie. Quidam enim ad sui bonum exeunt[16] de hoc mundo, quidam percipiendo versucias dyaboli animantur ad aggrediendum ipsum viriius, et quidam percipiendo versucias eius et membrorum suorum ordinant prudencius contra ipsum, ut in isto eventu, qui nuper contingit[17] in Anglicos et suos proximos instinctu romane curie.[c]

Dicitur enim, quod papa ex plenitudine potestatis nedum excommunicat adversantes, sed crucem elevat, absolvendo plenarie a pena et a culpa,[18] ut fingitur, quoscunque, qui iuvant[19] ad suum adversarium debellandum et[20] nominat ipsum adversarium Cristi et eius vicarii et tocius ecclesie militantis.[d] Ideo causam istam extollit[21] in merito[22] supra nubes. Alias autem declaravi,[e] quod ista monstruosa dissensio[23] a probabili est causata ex mendaci defectu, quo papa non sequitur viam Cristi. Si enim servaret humilitatem eius et pauperiem, numquam pro causa huius-

[c] *The Crusade began in the middle of May 1383; Bishop Spenser of Norwich embarked for Flanders in this month (cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 88; according to Knighton, Decem Script. 2672, 44 in June 1383; according to Capgrave, Chron. of Engl. p. 238: myd May), but, after a short successful campaign driven back by his enemies, returned to England already about Michaelmas in the same year, cp. Knighton, 2672, 46* [d] *cp. Walsingham, H. A. II, 76 ff.* [e] *cp. above p. 572: de Dissensione Paparum:* primo videtur supponendum tamquam probabile, quod ista dissensio propter cupiditatem mundani honoris et temporalium adiacencium papatui est causata *etc.; cp. also above p. 573:* quinto videtur probabile, quod manifestum mendacium sit et abhominacio desolacionis, quod Cristus concedat indulgenciam a pena et a culpa *etc.*

[10] super *CDG* supra *ABE* [11] sup *(cr. out)* ex *in A* [12] singularibus *ABCDG,E[3] in mar.* sinibus *E* [13] regulariter *ABCDG* rariter *E* [14] et *ABCDEG* sic *add. above* et *by E[3]* [15] eveniunt *ACDEG* proveniunt *B* [16] exeunt *ACDEG* exerceret *(?) B* [17] contigit *ABCEG* contingit *D* [18] a cu. *CDG* cu. *ABE* [19] qui iuv. *ABCEG* conminuant *D* [20] et *ABCDEG* sic *add. above* et *by E[3], cp. note 14* [21] extollit *BEG* excellit *ACD* [22] in merito *AEB* merito *CDG* [23] dissensio *ABCD* discensio *E* distraccio *G* *in C is add. in mar.:* Dissensionis paparum causa *C[1]*

modi[24] istam mendacem ficticiam attemptaret. Quis[25] enim attemptaret tam laboriosum et anxium atque ambiguum[f] certamen cum alio, nisi cupiditas honoris mundani et temporalium sit in causa? Patet inductive discurrendo de dissensionibus,[26] que contingunt.

Unde dictum est, quod supposita in papa dotacione pura in spiritualibus a Cristo, sicut fuit in Petro,[27] videtur, quod supra bona virtutum et gracie non sonabat nisi laborem et sollicitudinem in statu pauperi. Sed propter ista numquam fuisset talis contencio. Ideo relinquitur, quod propter[28] honores mundanos et secularia dominia, que sunt adiecta[29] papatui, ista contencio est exorta.[g] Cristus autem patronus ecclesie dicit Ioh. octavo[h]: ego gloriam meam non quero; et cum[30] sufficiens causa causati[31] sit[32] istius condicionis,[33] quod illa posita[34] ipsum ponitur, et illa ablata suum causatum[35] tollitur, videtur, quod ablata hac[36] monstruosa conveccione[37] temporalis[38] dominii et honoris a papatus officio ista dissensio[39] sedaretur.[40]

CAP. II.

Dictum est secundo,[1a] quod, cum ad imperatores et reges mundanos pertinet, qui ecclesiam stulte dotaverunt,[2] sibi satisfacere

[f] *the Crusade, therefore, is not yet finished* [g] *cp. the same passage verbatim in De Dissensione Papar., above p. 572* [h] *v. 50*

CAP. II. [a] *Cp. above l. 5 ff.:* unde dictum est, quod supposita in papa dotacione *etc.*

[24] ista *(ud. & cr. out)* hui. *in B* [25] quis *ABCDG* si quis *E* [26] de dissensionibus *ABC* de discensionibus *E* in dedissensionibus *DG* *in C is add. in mar.:* Cupido temporalium *C[1]* [27] *in C is add. in mar.:* Dotacio Petri per Cristum *C[1]* [28] propter *ABCDG* papa *E* [29] adiecta *ABE* subiecta *CDG. cp. De Dissensione Paparum, above p. 572:* ideo relinquitur *etc., also above note* [30] cum *ABCDE* cum sit *G* [31] causati *ABCDG* tanti *E* *in C is add. in mar.:* Causa sufficiens causati posita *C[1]* [32] sit *ABCDE* *om. G* [33] condicionis *ABCD* contencionis *G* [34] illa posita *ABCDG,E[3] in mar.* ista *(ud.) E* [35] causatum *ABCDG,E[3] in mar.* tantum *(ud.) E* [36] hac *ABCDG* ac *E* [37] conveccione *ACDEG* convexione *B, a corr. word* [38] temporalis *BCDEG* talis *A* [39] dissensio *ABCDG* discensio *E* [40] sedaretur 2m *C* sedaretur *ABEG* sedaret Et sequitur cam secundum huius tractatus *D*

CAP. II. [1] Secundo Cm 2 *A[1] in mar.* 2m *B* *om. CE* II *D[1]* *om. where there is no division into chapters, a new line only begins* [2] dotaverunt *ACDG* dotaverant *E* *in C is add. in mar.:* Dotantes ecclesiam sanctam *C*

pacem in imperio et toto cristianismo, quantum sufficiunt sta || bire, videtur, quod eorum interest[3] prudenter auferre hoc dissensionis[4] seminarium,[5] sicut canibus pro osse rixantibus medicina congrua est, os ipsum celeriter semovere.[6] Nam propter hanc causam gladium portant, ut patet Rom.[7] 13,[b] et quia illorum[8] interest, bona sua a deo eis data de manu inimici potestative[9] defendere et sic ordinanciam legis Cristi; quis enim sibi[10] resistit[11] et pacem habuit, dicitur[12] Iob[13] 9.[c] | C fol. 131b

Tercio[14] dictum est, quod quicunque papa vel prelatus ecclesie a via illa dissenserit,[15] est manifestus hereticus, legi Cristi et caritati ecclesie contrarius, et per consequens tanquam[16] perturbator pacis ecclesie a fidelibus fugiendus.[17] Cum enim excommunicacio Cristi forcior sit[18] quam humana, communicacio[19] cum talibus rixantibus propter periculum est neganda. Peccatum enim se ipsum destruit sive punit. Quis, inquam, dubitat, quin ille foret[20] patulus anticristus,[21] qui plus affectat temporalium dominia vel[22] honores contra[23] legem Cristi quam dilatacionem caritatis[24] in ecclesia vel salutem[25] anime subditorum et[26] secundum fidem, quam docet apostolus II. Cor. 12:[d] omnia ad edificacionem, sicut Cristus non ha-

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[b] *v. 4* [c] *v. 4: sapiens corde est et forte robore, quis restitit ei et pacem habuit, the quotation not being accurate* [d] *v. 19*

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[3] interest *ABCDG,E[3] in mar.* in curere in terre *(ud.) E* [4] dissensionis *ABCDG* discensionis *E* [5] *in C is add. above the col.:* Dissensionis seminarium auferendum *C[1]* *close to this by the same hand:* Auferendum dissensionis seminarium [6] cel. sem. *ABCDG* sceleriter removere *E* [7] Rom. *ABCDG* Ioh. *E* [8] illorum *BCDEG* eorum *A* [9] potestative *ABEG* potestate *C* potestatem *D* [10] sibi *E* sic *ABCDG* [11] resistit *ABCE* restitit *DG* [12] dicitur *CDG* ut dic. *ABE* [13] Job *ACDEG* Psalm. *B* [14] 3 *AB,C[1] in mar.* om. *D* *in G a new line begins as above* [15] dissenserit *ACDEG* discesserit *B, corr. from* dissenserit *(?)* [16] tanquam *ACDEG* *om. B* [17] *in C is add. in mar.:* Dissenciens equitati vitandus *C[1]* [18] f. s. *CDG* s. f. *ABE* [19] communicacio *ABDEG* ex *(ud.)* communicacio *C* [20] foret *ABCDG* foret foret *E* [21] *in D is add. in mar.:* Anticristus manifestus *D[1]* [22] vel *ACDEG* aut *B* [23] contra *ABCDG,E[3] in mar.* quam *(ud.) E* [24] carit. *ACDEG* in ecclesia Cristi *(cr. out & ud.)* carit. *B* [25] salutem *ABCDG,E[3] in mar.* salveri *(ud.) E* *in C is add. in mar.:* Edificandi potestas data *C[1]* [26] et *ABCDEG* *in E* sic *is add. above* et *by E[3], cp. cap. I note 14, 20*

buit aliam potestatem, manifestum est, potestas[27] hec[28] ficta fo
a dyabolo, non[29] a Cristo.[30] —

Quarto[31] dictum est, quod quecunque communitas laborat alte
trum[32e] istorum paparum restituere ad priorem cesaream dig
tatem, laborat in causa dyaboli contra Cristum.

Cristus enim dedit legem multiplicem suis sacerdotibus, qu
non taliter dominentur, et[33] pro defensione huius legis et aliaru
monuit suos fideles sub obtentu[34] beatitudinis laborare,[35] et[36]
infidelibus suscepit[37] durissimam passionem. Quis ergo[38] pres
meret talem radicem venenosam firmare[39] in ecclesia contra pace
eius titulo ministerii anticristi?

Quinto[40] dictum est, quod manifestum mendacium sit et abh
minacio desolacionis, quod Cristus concedat indulgenciam[41] a pena
a[42] culpa, vel quodcunque[43] aliud[44] spirituale suffragium cuicu
que in hac causa dyaboli contra se ipsum assidue laboranti.[f] Tun

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[e] *Urban VI. and Clement VII.* [f] *According to Walsingham, H.*
II, 77, one of the privileges accorded by the Pope to Bishop Spen
runs as follows: Conceditur omnibus transeuntibus suis propriis sump
bus et expensis vel etiam alicuius expensis plena remissio peccatoru
and the form of absolution is the following: Te A. B. ab omnib
peccatis tuis ore confessis et corde contritis et de quibus confiteri
les, si tuae occurrerent memoriae, absolvimus et plenariam tuorum p
catorum remissionem indulgemus et retribucionem iustorum ac sal
aeternae pollicemur augmentum, et tot privilegia, quae in Terrae Sanc
subsidium proficiscentibus conceduntur, tibi concedimus; cp. also W
kins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 178

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[27] po. *CG* quod po. *ABDE* [28] hec *BCDEG* est *A* [29] non *ABCEG* vel
[30] Cristo *BCDEG* ~ fute *(cr. out & ud.), above it* Cristo *A* [31] 4o *ABC*,E^1 *in m*
om. D,G, where a new line begins [32] alterutrum *CDG* alterum *ABE* [33]
ABCDEG *in E* sic *is add. above* et *by* E^3, *cp. above note 26 and cap. I,*
and 20 [34] obtentu *ABCDG* optentu *E* [35] *in C is add. in mar.:* Labor
dum non est in causa periculosa C^1 [36] et *ABCDEG* *in E* sic *is add. ab*
et *by* E^3, *cp. above note 26, 33, cap. I, 14 and 20* [37] suscepit *CDG* su
nuit *ABE* [38] ergo *G* enim *ABCDE* [39] firmare *ABCDG*,E^3 *in m*
sumere *(ud.) E* [40] 5o *ABC* *om. DE,G where again a new line beg*
[41] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Indulgencie A^1E^1 *om. BCDG* [42] a *BCDG* *om.*
[43] quodcunque *ABCDGE*^{3} quocunque *E* [44] aliud *ACDEG* *om. B*

im Cristus foret sibi ipsi contrarius, peccator maximus et pacis :clesie maxime turbativus.[45]

Que cum[46] sunt manifesta blasphemia nec sine concessione[47] t[48] auctoritate triumphantis ecclesie valent talia nominata suffragia, :um Ioh. 5[g] dicat Cristus de se ipso: quod non potest filius facere, nisi quod viderit[49] patrem facientem, patet, quam[50] vera est negativa,[51] quam sepe exposui, quod non est de substancia fidei credere, quod talis absolucio vel indulgencia a capite triumphantis ecclesie sit concessa.[52]

Sexto[53] dictum est, quod, cum[54] supponi potest, quod Urbanus noster non ad tantum desipit, quod auctorizat hoc facinus, licet suum collegium a pseudofratribus sit seductum, videtur probabile, quod fratres promoventes hanc causam[55] tantum heretice in suis predicacionibus et spoliantes ecclesiam suis falsis et fictis colleccionibus sunt precipui hostes ecclesie et debent sibi tam fraudulenter |[56] C fol. 135a
ablata restituere, antequam deus dimittat crimen, et ecclesia non, antequam se et dicta sua fundaverit,[57] debet[58] ipsos recipere[59] ut fideles.

Et eadem videtur sentencia contra pseudocardinales et[60] nostrates stantes in curia, qui regnum nostrum sic spoliant tam opere, quam consensu.[61 h] Prima pars patet per hoc principium Augustini:

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[g] v. 19 [h] *with ref. to the preceding passage, cp.* ***De Dissensione Paparum*** *p. 574:* Et cum supponi potest, quod Urbanus noster non auctorizat hoc facinus, licet a pseudofratribus sit seductus, videtur probabile, q. f. p. h. c. in suis pred. et sp. e. s. fals. coll. s. p. h. e. et d. s. t. fr. a. r., a. d. d. cr. vel antequam ecclesia

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[45] *in C is add. in mar.:* Indulgencie ficte prudenter impugnande *C¹* [46] cum *ABCDE* tamen *G* [47] concessione *ABDEG* confessione *D* [48] et *ABCDEG* in *E is* sic *add. above* et, *see above note 26, 33 and cap. I n. 14 and 20* [49] viderit *ABCDG,E³ in mar.* videret *E* [50] quam *ACDEG* quod *B* [51] negativa *ACDEG,B¹ in mar.* necia *B* [52] *in C is add. in mar. above the col.:* Concessio auctoritas Cristi valida *C¹* *in the text of E right across* S *(the initial of* Sexto*) is written:* non est capitulum aliquod [53] 6° *ABCD in mar.* *om. E,G, but here a new line begins* [54] cum *ABCDG,E³ corr. above* quod *om. E* [55] *in C is add. in mar.:* Bellum fratres palliant, sed dolose *C¹* [56] *from this fol. on the marginal glosses of C¹ are discontinued* [57] fundaverit *C* fundaverunt *ABDG* fundarent *E* [58] debet *BCDEG* debent *A* [59] recipere *ACDEG* rapere *B* [60] et *ABCDE* *om. G* [61] co. *ABCDE* sermone *(ud.)* co. *G*

n dimittitur peccatum nisi, restituatur ablatum; et secunda tet ex isto fidei articulo, quem apostolus sepe inserit: no nt admitti secte alique ad onus ecclesie,[62] et specialiter cun tenter fratres contra fidem spem et caritatem erraverint[63] e c defendendo errorem, in quem inciderant, sunt iterum ta l amplius[64] erraturi. Que ergo contrata[65] defenderet et mptuose nutriret tales et tantos periculosos hereticos, cum ısus talium preter[66] hoc, quod parat periculum, facit cum ınifestum participium in[68] peccato. Tales[69] autem heretici oni ad lapsum similem in peccato et ad bellum interpretes re rum suscitandum. Quis[71] ergo fructus regni[72] talis infideles os[73] taliter defendere et fovere?

Septimo[74] dictum est, quod sicut sathan per inieccionem[75] dicis peccati, scilicet superbiam[76] primorum parentum intoxi nus humanum et iterum per dotacionem contra Cristi reg oxicavit clerum et sic superbos et cupidos[77] ad bella et d ıs excitavit, sic per apercionem unius mendacii de thesaur ticie, quem habet de suis absolucionibus et indulgenciis, t clesiam occiduam discrasiat.[k] Cum enim tota ecclesia no

debeat ipsos recipere u. f. E. e. v. s. c. p. et n. st. in c., q incolorate spoliant multis viis [i] *cp. August. Opp. Tom. II* *Macedon. CLIII p. 532, A: si enim res aliena, propter quam pe est, cum reddi possit, non redditur, non agitur paenitentia, sed fing autem veraciter agitur, non remittetur peccatum, nisi restituatur al sed ut dixi, cum restitui potest* [k] *with ref. to this passage,* *Diss. Paparum, above p. 574:* Et ex istis potest octavo fidel

[62] *in D is add. above the col.:* Non debent admitti alique secte ad on sie *D¹* [63] erraverint *CDG* erraverant *ABE* [64] amplius *BCDEG* contrata *ABCDG* contrariata *E* [66] preter *ACDEG,B¹ in mar.* post *B* *BCDEG* cunctis eis *(!) A* [68] in *ABCDEG* esse *E³ in mar.* [69] p les *etc. BCDEG* peccato et ad bellum *etc. A, the scribe, led astray by* p *into the wrong line* [70] regni *ACDEG* regno *B* [71] quis *ABCDG,E³* os *(ud.) E* [72] regni *CD* regno *ABEG in mar.* [73] illegios *ABE* illegi llegitimos *DG* [74] 7° *ABCE¹ in mar.* VII° *D in mar.* *om. G, but* *line begins; I do not notice any more this marginal note* [75] iniecc *DG,E (ud.)* in vexionem *B* per vexionem *E³ in mar.* [76] supe *BCDG* superbia *E* [77] pudicos *(ud.)* cupidos *in E* [78] nostra *ACDEG* *r. om. B*

occidua sit cum uno papa vel altero opere[79] vel consensu, et[80] uterque ipsorum[81] sit patule anticristus, patet conclusio.[82] Nam iuxta prius[l] dicta, uterque eorum[83] contendit et[84] se ipsum defendit pro dominio adiacente papatui, et hoc[85] est expresse contrarium[86] legi Cristi; ideo uterque eorum est patulus anticristus, et quicunque similaverit excusacionem alterius in hac parte, excusat indubie partem dyaboli contra Cristum. Debet enim uterque eorum se ipsum secundum legem dei regere, consiliarios sibi assistentes instruere et dissensionem[87] istam per humilitatem et renunciacionem omnium, que possidet, in Cristi[88] pauperie consedare.

Octavo[89] dictum est, quod bellum, ad quod papa excitat, directe[90] committitur contra Cristum. Cristus enim ordinavit cunctos suos apostolos et Petrum precipue in humilitate, in ministerio caritatis et in paupertate virtuosa perpetue[91] stabiliri[92]; anticristus autem laborat assidue, ut ista omnia in Petri vicario infringantur et ad statum directe contrarium[93] reducantur. Et ad[94] istud complendum fingit mendaciter, quod Cristus concessit[95] infinitas indulgencias cuicunque[96] opere,[97] labore[98] vel consilio adiuvanti,[m] ac si diceret[99] implicite, quod Cristus in sua ordinacione desipuit, sed non ex deliberaciori[100] concilio wlt contrarium evenire. Sed ubi plus horren || da blasphemia? *C fol. 135b*

gere, quod sicut sath. p. i. un. ossis venenati intoxicavit clerum et populum, ac iracundos ad bella et discordias irritavit, sic per ap. u. m. de th. s. f., q. h. de s. a. e. i., t. e. discrasiat. Nam eius *etc.* [l] *cp. above p. 591* [m] *cp. Walsingham, H. A. II, 76 ff.*

[79] opere *ABCDE* ope *G* [80] et *ABE* *om. CDG* [81] ipsorum *ACDEG* eorum *B* [82] conclusio *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* ergo *(ud.) E* [83] eorum *ACDEG* ipsorum *B* [84] et *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* *om. E* [85] hoc *ACDEG,B*[1] *corr. into the text* *om. B* [86] contrarium *ACDEG,B*[1] *in mar.* *om. B* [87] diss. *ABCDG* discens. *E* [88] Crististi *in D* [89] 8 *ABC in mar.* VIII° *D in mar.* *om. E,G, but here a new line begins* [90] directe *ACDEG,B*[1] *in mar.* ducem *B* [91] perpetue *ACDG* paupertate *(cr. out)* perpetue *B* perpetuo *E* [92] stabiliri *BCEG* stabilire *AD* [93] dir. cont. *ACDEG,B*[1] *in mar.* *om. B* [94] ad *ACDEG,B*[1] *corr. into the text* *om. B* [95] concessit *CDG* concedit *ABE* [96] cuicunque *ACDEG* et ad istud complendum *(cr. out)* cuicunque *B* [97] opere *ABCDE* ope *G* [98] labore *ABCDG* laborare *E, but* ra *ud. by E*[3] [99] diceret *CDG* diceretur *ABE* [100] sed non e. d. *C* sed modo e. d. *ABDG* sed m. n. ex deliberatori *E*

Dictum est nono, quod in isto catheclismo debet fidelis atte dere verbis Cristi. Nam Matth. 24 precipit in casu consimili:[101n] i lite credere etc.[102]; nam dyabolus ex cautela[103] mendacii, que ten temptavit Cristum Matth. quarto,[o] promittit suo vicario mendaci per talem fictam absolucionem omnia regna mundi. Facile quid esset ad quecunque regna mittere mendacia tamquam fidem et s cedente opportunitate movere suos filios ad mendacem perfidi prosequendum,[104] ut si excommunicat[105] quemcunque[106] impedient suum propositum in ista crucis ereccione et magnus[107] populus defectu fidei sibi credit, posset faciliter multiplicatis suis filiis p pulum et thesaurum de regno Anglie et quocunque alio exhauri et sic quecunque regna de manu mundi principum sibi adquir per simulata mendacia tamquam fidem.[p]

Ideo[108] dictum est,[109] cum talis summus ypocrita tantum p turbat ecclesiam[110] totus cristianimus daret operam ad malici suam prudencius deprimendum et vel[111] ad pauperem statum a stolicum reducendum, vel ad media, per que seducit ecclesiam, struendum. Unde dicunt aliqui, quod laborantes in ista crucis e cione contra ambos istos papas suas vias dirigerent et pro fine ex amore Cristi prudencius laborarent. Unde ipsis exhorbit tibus in[112] vias alias potest dirigi verbum Elizei IV Reg. 6[113q]:

[n] *v. 23* [o] *v. 1 ff.; v. 9* [p] *with ref. to this passage, cp. De D Paparum above p. 575:* Et more suo, quo temptavit Cr. Matth pr. s. v. m. p. t. f. a. o. r. m. F. q. e. ad q. r. m. m. t. f. et m. s. f. a. m. p. p., ut si e. q. i. s. p. in i. c. er., faciliter posset s. f. p. et th. de r. A. exhaurire, et sic quec. r. de m. m. p. s. a. m. t. f. [q] *v. 19*

[101] cons. *has undergone a corr. in B* [102] credere etc. *C* credere *ABD* [103] nam d. ex c. *ACDEG,B¹ in mar. om. B* [104] prosequendum *ACDEG* pr quendam *B* [105] *in A is add. in mar.:* Excommunicacio *A¹* [106] quemcunque *CDG* quecunque *E* [107] magnus et *(cr. out)* magnus *in B* [108] ideo *CDG* de *ABE* [109] est *ACDEG,B¹ corr. into the text om. B; from here on I do not n any more the numerous corrections of B¹, as far as they agree with the read of C* [110] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ypocrita summus perturbat tantum ecclesian [111] vel *ABCDG* talis *E* [112] in *ACDG,E (ud.)* per *B,E³ in mar.* [113] 6⁰ *AE* 3⁰ *C* 13 *G*

est hec[114] via, nec ista est[115] civitas, sequimini me et ostendam vobis virum, quem queritis. Iste autem infamis binarius[116][r] est vir, quem debent[117] querere, qui propter lucrum temporalium sic perturbat ecclesiam nostram occiduam, et illum debent ad statum, quem Cristus instituit, prudenter reducere et redditus, quos anticristus iste dolose occupat,[118] ad veros dominos restaurare, faciendo modestius, quo sciverint[119] iusticie complementum.[120]

CAP. III.[1]

Cum dyabolus laborat assidue ad divisionem[2] ecclesie et specialiter in fide catholica, cum per hoc fundamentum firmiter stabilitum stat corpus ecclesie contra dyabolum, ideo omittendo articulos fidei patris potencie pertinentes rebellat multipliciter contra Cristum et specialiter, quod statuta et scripta papalia admittantur et credantur a tota ecclesia tamquam fides. Sic enim Sergius monachus[3] totam sectam Saracenorum a fide Cristi callide separavit,[a]

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[r] *the two popes are meant by this term.*

CAP. III. [a] *Cp. De Pontific. Rom. Schismate ed. Arnold, S. E. W. III, 245: and þis mevede þe fende, aftir þe dowynge of þe Chirche, to use þe monk Sergyus, and turne men of þe Chirche to all þecte of Saresenes, þat is now ful large; cp. ibid. 99: And þus dude þe Machamete and Surgeus þe monk, whanne þey made a lawe after þer owene malys etc. Sergius (as the western writers call him) or Bahira (according to oriental sources), a Nestorian monk of Bassorah, is said to have predicted the great career of Mahomet to his guardian Abu Taleb, and to have given him instruction in the tenets of Christianity. W. mentions him frequently, cp. above p. 91*

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[114] hec *ABCEG* ista *D* [115] ista est *ACDG* est ista *B* ista *E*, *but* est *is add. by E*[2] *in mar. before* ista [116] binarius *ABCE* viarum contrarius *D* viarum *G* [117] debent *ABCEG* debet *D* [118] occupat *ABCDG* occupavit *E* [119] quo sciverint *ACDG* quo sciverunt *B* constituerunt *E* [120] complementum 3m *C* complemendum *AG* complementum Cap. secundum *B* complementum Et sequitur aliud capitulum etc. *D* complemendum Cap. 3m *E*

CAP. III. [1] Sequitur cap. 3m *A*[1] *in mar.* III *D* *the other codd. are without this gloss, in G a new line begins* [2] divisionem *ABDE* decisionem *CG* [3] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Sergius *A*[1]*E*[2] *in D in mar.:* Sergius monachus totam sectam Saracenorum a fide Cristi separavit callide *D*[1] *in mar.*

sic Greci videntes nostri pape versucias stant secure[4] et clare in solida fide Cristi, sic eciam[5] tota India stat in fide Cristi primeva relinquendo tradiciones pape nostri occidui et cuiuscunque alterius a Cristo[6] divisi, nisi de quanto concordaverint[7] legi Cristi, cum diviso sathana, quomodo stabit eius[8] regnum? Et ista[9] videntur || C fol. 186a multis esse tempora periculosa, que apostolus futura pro diebus || novissimis prophetavit II Tim. 3.[10] [b] Creditur enim probabiliter, quod dyabolus circueundo terram et temptando homines habet quoddam solacium vel minus de pena, quam[11] habebit post diem iudicii perpetuo[12] condempnatus.[13] Et cum sit certus ex fide sua informi, quod non erit dies iudicii, antequam predestinatorum numerus sit completus, cum suspicatur hodie ex dictis propheticis et scriptura, quod prope sit[14] illum diem, pro causa predicta temptat acucius, quam solebat, et propter causam consimilem temptat hominem gravius in mortis articulo quam perante.[15] Tunc enim scit, quod suus superatus, usque ad mortem per eum depressus,[16] est in finali iudicio condempnandus, et sic oportet de tanto, quod tempus precedens diem iudicii elongetur, quia per hoc accrescit sibi alleviamen victoria de suis hostibus et mali multiplicacio, ut estimat, contra Cristum. Sic enim divisit hos papas, ut per divisionem illam acuatur bellum sive dissensio[17] inter regna, et quod ille grex pusillus in fide Cristi residuus habeat multa capita, per quorum perfidiam et vi nequiciam fideles domini amplius sint divisi. — Et per eandem cautelam introducte sunt secte, ut monachi, canonici, atque fra

[b] *v. 1—2: hoc autem scito, quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa; erunt homines se ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati superbi blasphemi, parentibus non obedientes, ingrati, scelesti etc. cp. I Tim 4, 1; II Pet. 3, 3*

[4] secure *BCDEG* solido *A* [5] eciam *ABCDG* et *E* [6] a Cristo *AB DE* exemplo *G* [7] concordaverint *BCDEG* concordaverit *A* [8] eius *B*,] *in mar. om. ACDEG* [9] ista *ABCDE* ita *G* [10] II Thi. 3o *ABCD* II ad Th 3o *G* II Thi. *E* [11] *from here on in the text of C the following six lines a in very pale ink, but by the same hand as the preceding (down to* superatus usq ad) [12] perpetuo *ACDEG* perpetue *B* [13] condempnatus *ABCD* dampn tus *EG* [14] sit *ABCDG* scit *E* [15] per ante *ABCE* pro ante *D* ante [16] depressus *ABCEG* depressius *D* [17] dissensio *ABCDG* discensio *E*

tres,[c] et ista divisio sectarum prenosticat divisionem infidelium amplius adventuram,[18] et remedium fidelium in fide superstitum[19] foret, quod servent fidem, spem et caritatem, que sunt theologice[20] armature.[21] In fide[22] autem non dubitent[23] nec acceptent tradiciones apocrifas,[24] tamquam fidem.

Quidquid ergo ut fides proponitur, videndum est primo[25] subtiliter,[26] quod[27] sit pars vel[28] consequens ad fidem domini Iesu Cristi,[29] quod si non, fidelis secure[30] ipsum renuat et ut partem cristiane[31] fidei non admittat. Ideo est magna prudencia adhibenda ad materiam fidei a materia spei atque[32] apocrifi distingwendum,[33] et sic bulle et leges papales, scripta sanctorum et dicta ex suis vitis a quocunque homine reportata sunt a materia fidei renuenda, quia inter omnes subtilitates dyaboli hec est una, quod paulative talia apocrifa[34] introducat et per ipsa falsa et fidei contraria ut credenda.[35] Et sic necesse est obstare principiis inimici. Et oportet fideles armari precipue contra quatuor sectas et complices earundem, scilicet contra pseudopapas cum suis filiis[36][d] et contra tres sectas ypocritarum, scilicet monachos, canonicos[37] et fratres, ex cautela dyaboli ad onus ecclesie introductas. Per has[38] enim quatuor nititur dyabolus fidem catholicam enervare, et ex cautela ypocrisis reges et seculares[39] dominos trahit sibi.

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[c] *further on l. 18—19 these three are called the* secte ypocritarum; *the* prima secta *is omitted here* [d] *generally called the* clerus cesareus

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[18] *in AC is add. in mar.:* Nota *A*[1] *C*[1] [19] superstitum *ABCDE* substitutum foret *(underlined)* superstitum *G* [20] theologice *ABCDE* catholice *G* [21] *in D is add. in mar.:* Armature *D*[1] [22] fide *ABCEG* die *D* [23] dubitent *G*,*C*[3] *in mar.* titubent *ABCE* dubitent vel non titubent *D* [24] apocrifas *ABCDG* ypocrifas *E* [25] primo *BCDEG om. A* [26] subtiliter *ACDEG om. B* [27] quod *CDG* si *AE*,*B*[1] *in mar. om. B* [28] sit *(cr. out in the text of) B, but* si sit pars vel *is add. in mar. by B*[1] [29] dom. Ie. Cri. *ABCD* dom. nostri Ie. Cri. *E* dominum Iesum Cristum *G* [30] secure *ACDEG* enim sec. *B* [31] cristiane *ABE* cristianam *CDG* [32] atque *CDGE* et *AB* [33] *in D is add. below the col.:* Prudencia magna adhibenda est ad materiam fidei atque apocrifi distingwendum *D*[1] [34] apocrypha *ABCDG* ypocrypha *E* [35] credenda *ABDEG, in C first cr. out, but afterwards the stroke was half erased* [36] filiis *ABCEG* fideliis *D* [37] can. *ABCDE* et can. *G* [38] has *ACEG* hos *BD* [39] seculares *ABCE om. DG*

Sic enim in nostris diebus prevalet pars ista dyaboli, quod a regibus et mundi potentibus[40] exit[41] mandatum,[e] quod, quicunque contradixerit huic parti vel non efficaciter promoverit, excommunicetur, carceri[42] mancipetur vel ut contemptibilis[43] et suspectus[44] de heresi ab aliqua istarum quatuor sectarum persecucionem pa- || C fol. 136b tentem[45] vel subdolam paciatur || sic, quod 'nisi abbreviati fuerint dies illi, non fieret salva omnis caro'.[f] Ista autem persecucio in elevacione crucis in causa Urbani sexti est hodie recensius renovata[46] et hoc per censuras ecclesiasticas et persecuciones mundanas multiplices.[47] Et omnia ista in facto innuunt, quod pars dyaboli exaltetur et pars Cristi per istum populum substernatur, ut a nido[48] heresis dicitur exire dirum mandatum, quod quicunque[49] contradixerit precepto Urbani sexti[50] debellando[51] suum adversarium et statum suum cesareum exaltando[52] sit[53] excommunicatissimus et ut infidelissimus a cristianis[54] singulis pertractatus; et quicunque iuverit[55] in causa ista ope,[56] consilio vel labore, sit a Cristo a pena et a[57] culpa plenarie absolutus. Et a mundi exordio usque hodie non fuit talis blasphemia publicata, sic, quod nisi solacium fidei de brevitate illorum dierum[58] fideles adiuverit,[59] non auderent[60] parti domini consentire. Nam pauci vel nulli sunt, qui audent[61] se exponere martirio in hac causa, et tamen scimus, quod a tempore Cristi non

[e] *cp. the Royal Mandate in Knighton, X Scipt. Angl. col.* 2673
[f] *cp. Matth.* 24, 22

[40] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota A^1 [41] exit *ABCDG* exiit *E* [42] carceri *ACDEG* tortori *B* [43] contemptibilis *ABCEG* contemptus *D* [44] suspectus *ABCEG* suspectibilis *D* [45] patentem *CDG* pacientem *ABE* [46] renovata *ABCEG* innovata *D* [47] mult. *ABCEG* et mult. *D* [48] a nido *ABCDG* avide *E* [49] *in E is add. in mar.:* Nota E^2 [50] sexti *ABCDG*,E^3 *in mar. om.* [51] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota timide A^1 *in E is add. in mar.:* timide E^2 [52] a vers. e. st. s. c. exalt. *ACDEG* adversarium at (at *cr. out & ud.)* exalt. *B*, *b above the col. is add.:* Et st. s. ces. B^1 [53] sit *BCDEG* sic *A* [54] a crist. *ABDEG* cristianus *A* [55] iuverit *ABCEG* innuerit *D* [56] ope *A(?)DG*,*C a stroke through the* p *is erased* opere *BE* [57] a *CDG om. ABE* [58] de brev. ill. di. *ABCDG* debreviate dierum istorum *E* [59] adiuverit *BCDEG* adiuverunt *A* [60] auderent *ABCDEG* auderent *is add. in mar. by* E^3; *it strikes me that* E^3, *'who is not a bad corrector, has in this present chapter done his work carelessly, cp. note 61* [61] audent *ACDEG* auderent *B*,E^3 *in mar.*

fuit melior causa martirii nec gloriosior triumphus illi,[62] qui[63] in causa domini audet[64] stare. Non enim quietatur ista persecucio in multis milibus corporum occisorum, nec solum in fraudulentis spoliacionibus[65] ypocritarum ut specialiter patet in Anglia, sed, quod[66] est gravius, in subversione fidei et perfida exaltacione partis dyaboli, sic, quod multi occisorum, quos[67] anticristus dicit sine pena ad celum ascendere, moriuntur infideliter in hac persecucione perfida[68] iam regnante.[69]

CAP. IV.

Potest autem palpari in ista materia sentencia fidei cristiane: nonne foret ille manifestus proditor, qui in absencia domini teneret vicarie regnum suum et sponsam suam contra inimicos secundum legem dei[1] gubernandam et in absencia sponsi contra legem suam introduceret hostes suspectos et vivendo tyrannice illis hostibus consentiret[2] et omnino[3] tanquam legem defenderet, quod sic de voluntate summi domini eveniret. Proporcionalia quidem sunt in papa et militante ecclesia, intelligendo[4] ipsam ut regnum Cristi et eius sponsam et intelligendo professionem pape vicariam et reliqua eius opera iuxtaposita legi ewangelice, quam dederat ad regnum suum, hoc est, militantem ecclesiam vel sponsam Cristi celitus gubernandam.

Numquid credimus, quod papa in propria persona servat mandata, que Cristus dedit apostolis? Numquid secundum legem ewangelicam instruit regnum Cristi, sicut Cristus fecerat tam opere quam sermone? Certum quidem est, quod introducendo hostes contra

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62 *in AC is add. in mar.:* Nota *A¹C¹* 63 illi qui *ABCEG* aliqui *D* 64 audet *ABCG* audent *DE* 65 spoliacionibus *ABCEG* spolia ovibus *D* 66 quod *ABCDG,E³ in mar.* quomodo *E* 67 quos *ABE* quod *CDG* 68 persecucione perfida *ABCDE* prosecucione perfidie *G* 69 regnante Cm 4m *AC* regn. cm 3m *B* regnata cm 4m *E, but in mar.* regnante *E³* regnante *G,D, here in mar.:* IIII.

CAP. IV. 1 dei *ABCE* domini *DG* 2 consentiret *ABCG,E here the concluding t is add. by E³* contentum *D* 3 omnino *ABCD,E (ud.)* omnia *B,E³ in mar.* 4 intelligendo *ABCE* intelligenda *DE*

doctrinam domini consentit hostibus[5] proditorie contra Cristun Cristus enim dixit Luc. 14[a]: qui non renunciaverit omnibus, qu possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Sed iste vicarius dic cum dyabolo, quod sua debent esse omnia regna mundi. Crist docet implicite, quod non debent in suam ecclesiam secte aliq nisi secte cristianorum secundum formam, quam ipse dederat, intr || *C fol. 137a* duci. Dictus autem vicarius introducit || multas sectas extraneas confirmat suos ordines contra regulas, quas ad gubernacionem s ecclesie Cristus dedit. Numquid credimus, quod vicarius talis p fidus sit manifestus dei proditor et patulus anticristus? Per ipsu enim humilitas et[6] paciencia cum aliis virtutibus expirarunt, et p consequens[7] consentit proditorie dyabolo, hosti Cristi. Cum en Cristus docet in suo apostolo,[b] quod sint non se[8] ipsos[9] seculari defendentes, iste vicarius docet, quod homines se ipsos defenda tam vita quam verbis in causa ficta per dyabolum contra Cristu et ad hoc fingant[10] mendacia contra deum.

Quis,[11] rogo, pertinacius aut studiosius in causa mere[12] secula umquam[13] defendat[14] partem suam, aut[15] quis umquam poss fingere pro hoc fine mendacia maiora contra deum? Et sic vel oportet legem et vitam Cristi deserere vel istud factum contr vitam[17] Cristi et eius doctrinam patenter ascribere anticristo. E cum ovile Cristi secundum doctrinam suam in fide catholica debe dici, patet, quod talis vicarius nedum est proditor Cristi et su ecclesie, sed singularum ovium, quas Cristus ad beatitudinem de stinavit. Et si homo studeat[18] chronicas a mundi exordio, no videbit, quod dyabolus patencius fuit contrarius Iesu Cristo, quan

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CAP. IV. [a] *v. 33* [b] *cp. Rom. 12, 19*

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[5] hostibus *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* *om. E* [6] et *ABCEG* *om. D* [7] *in AE add. in mar.:* Nota *A*[1]*E*[2] [8] non se *CD,B*[1] *in mar.* enim *(cr. out)* se *B* se *A E, but in mar. is add. by E*[3] *(from B)* enim [9] ipsos *ABCDG* ipsios *E* [10] fingant *ABDE*[3]*G* fingunt *C* *om. E* [11] f. m. c. d. quis *ABCDG,E*[3] *with mark ref. below the col.* quis *E* [12] mere *ABCEG* iure *D* [13] umquam *AB* nu quam *E* studiosius *CDG* [14] defendat *C* defenderat *ABDEG* [15] aut *A.* umquam aut *CDG* [16] vel *ABCDG* talis *E* [17] vitam *CDEG* legem *A* [18] studeat *ABCDG* studiat *E in mar.* *in B* Et si homo studet *is repeated*

innuendo pro despoliacione[19] regnorum de populo et thesauro, quod dedit[20] sibi specialiter illam licenciam, quod daret indulgencias,[21] quantascunque[22] libuerit, cuicunque, qui voluerit partem suam de-endere contra Cristum et cuicunque, qui vellet[23] occidere quem-cunque, qui ordinacionem Cristi defenderit in hac parte. Sic enim mplicite dicit papa, cum notum sit ex fide, quod Cristus vixit vitam umme[24] pauperem, et sic ordinavit eius apostolos et cunctos eius carios vivere, quantum bene poterant ipsum sequi. Sed[25] rogo: is vivit Cristo difformius quam papa?[c]

Et pro ista difformitate defendenda conturbat sic populum et citat sic homines ad pugnandum. Et cum ex fide II Cor. ultimo[d] n data fuit apostolo potencia,[26] nisi ad edificacionem ecclesie in nore,[27] patens est, quod hec potencia false fingitur supra Cristum. ed ubi excogitare posset fidelis in domino magis blasphemum endacium?

Et cum fratres et filii paparum sunt in hoc consentanei et in sto opere proditorio collaborant,[28][e] manifestum est, quod ipsi unt in eadem dampnacione contra domini Iesum Cristum.

O, si anticristus 'sic in[29] viridi ligno faciat',[30][f] quantum vellet cum membris suis facere potestate sua[31] ad plenitudinem potestatis dyaboli indurata?[32] Et iste conquestus est magis dyabolicus quam

[c] *cp. the same idea De Christo et s. Adv. cap. XI and cap. XII*
[d] *v. 10: ideo haec absens scribo, ut non praesens durius agam secundum potestatem, quam dominus dedit mihi in aedificationem et non in destructionem* [e] *the Mendicant Friars in particular had made the crusade the principal subject of their sermons in order to enroll soldiers for it, cp. Matthew 491; Walsingh. II, 95; Lechler I, 706* [f] *cp. Luke 23, 31*

[19] despoliacione *C* depopulacione *ABDEG* [20] dedit *CDG* deus dedit *ABE* [21] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Indulgencia *A²E²* [22] quantascunque *ACDEG* uascunque *A* [23] vellet *CEG* volet *ABD* [24] summe *BCDEG,A³ corr. into e text om. A* [25] Sed *ACDEG om. B* [26] fide II C. u. n. d. f. a. p. *ABCDG* fide n. d. f. a. p. II C. u. *E* [27] *in D is add. above the col.:* Apostolo non ta f. p. n. ad ed. e. in a. *D¹* [28] et in i. o. p. collaborant *C* ac i. i. o. p. coll. *A,E, here in mar.* corroborant et in i. o. p. corroborant *B* et in i. tempore colloberant *D* et ista tempore p. tollerant *G* [29] sic in *ABCDG* in *(ud.) E, but by E³ in mar.* [30] faciat *ABCDG* sic faciat *E* [31] potestate sua *ABE* pote-em suam *CDG* [32] indurata *BCDEG* indurato *B, the* o *corr. (by B¹ ?) into* a

aliquis alius, qui fuit a mundi exordio cogitatus, et sic dya innuit suam excellenciam[33] supra[34] Cristum, cum Cristus non p sic[35] facere, et ipse tamquam mendacissimus potenter in suo vi
|| *C fol. 137b* ita[36] facit. Sic enim silogisant[37] sophiste, quod peccator p multa || facere supra deum.[38]

Stemus ergo[39] in fide viriliter et confortemur in domino, caput anticristi diviserat et excitat unam partem aliam debella Nec dubium, quin totum istud fidelibus cooperetur in bonum unitatem[41] sancte matris ecclesie, nec dubium, quin crimen capitale fuit pro tempore notabili[42] in crescendo. Et si capu nuitum fuerit vel[43] parte una suppressa, reliqua creverit secun formam antiquam, erit[44] novissimus error peior priore, et fi domini crudeliter cruciati. —

Eya, milites Cristi,[45] iuvate fideliter[46] suos pauperes in causa, quia magis gloriosus conquestus numquam fuit vobis appo ad vestrum dominium secundum concessionem Cristi de manu boli conquirendum. Ideo debetis generaliter simul stare in puncto et concorditer,[47] cum in isto certamine, quod non est n difficile, non est carencia lucri temporalium, sed acquisicio titudinis[48] militi, qui fideliter perseverat. Habeat ergo fideli borans in isto certamine intencionem mundam, quod faciat[49] pro defensione[50] legis domini Iesu Cristi.[51]

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[33] excellenciam *ABCDG* extollenciam *E* [34] supra *ABCDG,E* (contra E^3 *in mar.* [35] sic *ABCDG* *om. E* [36] ita *ABCDG,*E^3 *in mar.* *(ud.) E* [37] silogisant *C, add. below* si *by* C^2 phi silogisant *G* perlogi *ABE* prehilogizant *D* (p̄hilogizāt) [38] deum *ABCEG* Cristum *D* [39] *ABCDG* igitur *E* [40] debellare *ABCDG* bellare *E, but* de *is add. in mar.* b [41] unitatem *D* utilitatem *ABCEG* [42] pro t. n. *CG* per tempus notabile pro t. notabile *D* [43] vel *ABCDG* quod absit vel *E* [44] erit *ACDEG* [45] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Milites Cristi A^1E^2 *in C in mar.:* Nota [46] fid *ABCDG,*E^3 *in mar.* viriliter *E* [47] concorditer *BCDG* corditer *A,E, but is add. above* cor *by* E^3 [48] beatitudinis *ABDEG* *om. C* [49] faciat *AC* facit *B* [50] pure pro defensione *ABCDG,*E^3 *in mar.* pro edificacio [51] Cristi 5m *C* Cristi Capm 5 *A* Cristi Cam quartum *B* Cristi etc. *D* (Capm 5um *E* Cristi *G, no new chap. in G, but a new line begins*

CAP. V.[1]

Sed contra istam sentenciam primo wlgariter replicatur, quod ıtradicentes huic graciose[2] absolucioni sunt manifesti heretici pauci contra cleri multitudinem,[3] que constancius stat cum papa. ım ergo vox[4] populi sit vox[4] dei, videtur, quod illi singulares .versarii sint tamquam heretici lapidandi.

Hic dicitur, quod argucia illa[5] informis pharisaica[6] dependet .per stulticia populari. Cum enim stultorum sit infinitus numerus, ; dicitur Eccles. primo,[a] et multi sunt vocati, pauci electi, ut icitur Matth. 22,[7][b] idem est, ac si anticristus sic argueret[8]: pars yaboli habet multiplicius falsum[9] testimonium contra Cristum, ergo arti illi populus debet credere contra deum.[10] Pharisei enim mi-erant[11] ad temptandum Cristum ministrorum multitudinem cum Ierodianis, false sibi primitus[12] adulantes, ut dicitur 22,[c] ut,[13] µem vincere racione non poterant, superent[14] calliditate et multi-ıdine testium falsorum, quod contigit[15] posterius, quando Cristus ıx falsorum testimonio dampnabatur. Et[16] istud figuratum est III Reg. 18,[d] ubi quadringenti sacerdotes Baal fuerant contra prophetam domini Eliam, qui ex parte domini remanens fuit solus.

Est ergo argumentum topicum, cum tanta multitudo et tales tenuerint[17] partem unam, non fundatam ex testimonio[18] legis dei,[19] tunc probabiliter est suspecta.

CAP. V. [a] *Eccles. 1, 15 (cp. Vulgata)* [b] *v. 14* [c] *v. 15—16* [d] *v. 22: et ait rursus Elias ad populum: ego remansi propheta Domini solus, prophetae autem Baal quadringenti et quinquaginta viri sunt*

CAP. V. [1] 5m *C* 4 *B* V *D* Nota multitudinem *A¹E² in mar.* [2] graciose *ABCDE* gloriose *G* [3] *in D is add. in mar.:* Contra cleri multitudinem *D¹* [4] vox *CDGE* lex *AB,E³ in mar.* [5] illa *ABCDG* ista *E* [6] pharisaica *ABCE* phariseica *DG* [7] 22º *BCDG* 20º *AE* [8] *in D is add. in mar.:* Argucia anticristi de parte maiori contra Cristum *D* [9] falsum *ABCDG,E³ in mar.* secundum *(ud.) E* [10] deum *ABCDE* dominum *G* [11] miserant *CG,D (texthand) in mar.* miserunt *ABE* ministrant *(ud. & cr. out) D* [12] primitus *ABCEG* prius *D* [13] ut *AEG,C (corr. by the texthand)* et *B,C (cr. out)* [14] superent *BCDEG* surriperent *A* [15] contigit *ABCE* contingit *DG* [16] Et *ABCEG* Est autem *D* [17] tales tenuerint *C* tales tenuerunt *DG* talis tenuerunt *AB* talis tenuerit *E* [18] testimonio *ACDEG* testimoniis *B* [19] dei *ACDEG* domini *B*

Videnda ergo est conversacio multitudinis et eius fundaci
quomodo[20] consonat cum scriptura, et indiffinite vere dicitur,[21] quod vox[22] populi est vox[22] dei, populi videlicet simplicis, spiritu dei ducti. Sic enim dixerunt Iudei, quod nullus ex principibus Cristo credit,[23] sed populus hic maledictus, qui legem adinventam ignorat.

Talis ergo wlgaris argucia militat contra falsarium argumentatorem,[24] specialiter cum lex Cristi sit per se sufficiens et veritatis quam est necessarium[25] cristianum credere, decisiva, et eo[26] evidencius, quo dictum vel[27] factum adversancium non sonat in pa-
|| O fol. 138a cienciam vel regulam[28] caritatis, sed pocius || in luciferinam superbiam[29] se ipsum dyabolice vindicandi. — Sed que condicio est Cristo magis contraria vel invidie dyabolice[30] magis similis? Scarioth enim propter minus patentem avariciam fuit vocatus a Cristo dyabolus, et sic[31] Cristus non potest in verbis a veritate deficere; et revera non videtur securum in fide et vita duci per multos huiusmodi scariothas.[32] Similiter[33] cum in lege veteri, quando licitum fuit ex mandato domini adversarios debellare,[34] legitur de Achan[35] lapidato Ios. 7[e], quod populus domini fuerat superatus, et levis culpa unius persone fuit usque ad mortem crudeliter[36] condempnata.

Cum ergo ex[37] licencia pape multi pseudofratres, presbiteri et secte alie regulares delinquunt gravius in hac pugna, verisimile est, quod totus exercitus sit saltem[38] spiritualiter[39] superatus. Nam

[e] *vv. 1 and 5*

[20] quomodo *ABCDE* quoniam *G* [21] vere dicitur *ABCEG* venditur *D* [22] vox *ABCDEG, but see above note 4* [23] credit *CDG* credidit *ABE* [24] argumentatorem *C* arguentem *BDEG* argumen *the last syllable illegible, but in mar. is add.* tatorem *A*[3] [25] necessarium *BD* necessariam *ACEG* [26] decisiva et eo *ABDEG* de et eo *(sic) C* [27] vel *CD* et *ABEG* [28] regulam *BC* in reg. *ADEG* [29] luciferinam superbiam *ABCEG* luciferina superbia *D* [30] dyabolice *ABCDE* dyaboli *G* [31] sic *CDG* *om. ABE* [32] scariathas *B* scariothos *CED,A (?)* scariothes *G* [33] *in A is add. in mar.:* Primo *A*[1] [34] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Nota bellum *A*[2]*E*[2] [35] Achan *B (here a correction)* Achor *ACDG* achar *E* [36] crudeliter *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* crucialiter *E* [37] ex *ABCE* talis *DG* [38] saltem *ABCDG* salanie *(? salamie) E* [39] spiritualiter *ABCDG* specialiter *E*

habendo corporalem victoriam videtur divinum iudicium permittere, quod sordescat, ut post profundius condempnetur. Sic[40] enim persona ex dei presciencia[41] desperata in sua culpa propter causam huiusmodi invalescit. Similiter[42] si irregularitas contrahitur in sacerdotibus[43] ex peccato, ut sanctus rex[44] David, quia[45] fuit vir sangwinum, non edificavit templum materiale domino, sed eius edificacio fuit filio eius Salomoni, regi pacifico, reservata,[f] videtur, quod isti irregularius[46] homicide in effundendo cristianum sangwinem sunt pocius irregulares et dampnabiles quoad deum. Privilegium enim vel anticristi licencia non potest superare vel extingwere racionem, et sic est verisimile bellum[47] huiusmodi ad gravius[48] sequens facinus preparare, cum sacramentalis ministracio talium sacerdotum[49] sangwinum,[50] eciam[51] consenciencium, deum provocat ad vindictam.[52] Cum enim papa, cardinales et alii sacerdotes eis subditi renuunt[53] pacienciam et caritatem et zelant[54] sic in causa propria pro vindicta, videtur, quod deus, caritas, ipsos renuit et execrat opera sua cuncta. Nec est gravitas vel qualitas personarum[55] loquencium in ista materia precipue attendenda, sed sentencia locuta et eius fundacio in scriptura.

Numquid, rogo, credimus,[56] quod sit voluntatis[57] divine impedire[58] sacerdotes inconsentaneos huic cause ewangelium[59] predicare et

[f] *cp.* [*I Chron.* 23, 8] *I Paralip.* 22, 8, 10: *sed factus est sermo Dei ad me, dicens: multum sanguinem effudisti et plurima bella bellasti; non poteris aedificare domum nomini meo, tanto effuso sanguine coram me. Filius, qui nascetur tibi, erit vir quietissimus .... ipse aedificabit domum nomini meo*

[40] sic *ABCDG* sit *E* [41] presciencia *ABCDG* psciencia *(compend. above* p *om.) E* [42] *in A is add. in mar.:* Secundo *A*[1] [43] in sac. *ABCDE* *om. G* [44] rex *ABCDE* vir *G* [45] quia *ABC,E*[3] *in mar.* qui *DEG* [46] irregularius *ABCDG* irregularissimi *E* [47] bellum *ACDEG,B*[1] *in mar.* *om. B* [48] gravius *ABCDE* gravia *G* [49] sacerdotum *ABDEG* *om. C* [50] sangwinum *CDG* sangwinem *ABE* [51] eciam *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* et *E* [52] vindictam *BCDEG* iracundiam *(ud. & cr. out)* vindictam *A* [53] renuunt *ACDEG* renuint *(?) B* [54] zelant *ACDEG* zelare *B* [55] grav. v. qual. per. *ACDG* qual. v. grav. per. *E* grav. v. per. qual. *B* [56] *here in D fol.* 245[a] *begins; the number is wrong; it ought to be* 244[a]; *then follow* 246, 247 *etc.; below fol.* 243[c] *and* [d] *is add.:* XX[us] [57] voluntatis *ABCEG* volumptatis *D* [58] impedire *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* credere *(ud.) E* [59] ewangelium *ACDEG* obedienciam *B*

permittere sacerdotes consentaneos huic facinori populo in spirituali officio ministrare. Revera secularis dominus, compos mentis et racionis particeps, tam opus quam consensum ad ipsum ex parte domini abhorreret, cum clarum sit ex isto opere et vita sequente, cuiusmodi[60] sacerdotes tales fuerunt[61] vel prelati. Contaminacionem[62] ergo expectare possunt tam wlgares quam domini ab eisdem, sed spirituale suffragium vel purgacionem aliquam,[63] antequam fiat satisfaccio, non expectent. Sicut enim pacifici[64] sunt filii dei ex ewangelio Matth. 5,[65][g] sic bellantes huiusmodi sunt filii Belial vel regis superbie, et sic pauci vel nulli sacerdotes sunt in Anglia, quin in isto labore sunt[66] irregulares et execrabiles ex consensu et per consequens privandi per superiores dominos a[67] quocunque lucro,
| *C fol. 138b* quod | attinet officio sacerdotis.

Et multo evidencius romana curia[68] est racione istius auctorizacionis tamquam refuga detestanda. Nam[69] papa est in adepcione[70] positus vel statum secularem ad instar[71] Cristi auffugere vel iniuriam propriam in effundendo cristianum sangwinem vindicare,[72] et cum secundum eligit et primum donum[73] sequendo Cristum refugit, manifestum est, quod sit apostata a[74] Cristi regula et sequitur regem alium luciferinum, cum[75] fides edocet, quod in sequendo Cristum stat tota cristiana religio et fugiendo a Cristo,[76] sequendo dyabolum stat tota apostasia membrorum dyaboli in hoc mundo. Unde cum Cristus dicit Ioh. 10[h]: quod bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis, manifestum est, quod prelatus, qui pro mundana vita, quam eligit[77] contra Cristum, ponit multa milia ani-

[g] *v. 9* [h] *v. 11*

[60] cuiusmodi *ABCDG* cuius *E, but* modi *is add. above it by E²* [61] fuerunt *ACE* fuerint *BDG* [62] contaminacionem *ACDEG* contaminacio *B* [63] sed spir. su. v. pur. al. *CDG* sed purg. vel spir. suffr. *B* secundum purg. v. sp. su. *AE* [64] pacifici *ABCDG* pacificati *E* [65] 5° *ABCDG,E² in mar.* 11° *E* [66] sunt *CDG* sint *ABE* [67] a *ABCDE om. G* [68] curia *ABCDG* culpa *(ud.)* curia *E* [69] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota bene *A¹* [70] adepcione *CDG* adopcione *ABE* [71] instar *ABCDG* instrum *E, but in mar.* star *is add. by E²* [72] vindicare *ACDEG,B¹ in mar. om. B* [73] donum *C* dominum *AE* deum *B* dominium *DG* [74] a *ABCDG om. E* [75] cum *ABE* quia cum *CDG* [76] a Cristo *C* a Cristo et *G* anticristo *ABDE* [77] eligit *CDE* elegit *ABG*

rum, sit[78] patulus anticristus. Subiecta enim passionis opposite[79] ortet esse sibi[80] ipsis opposita.[81]

CAP. VI.[1]

Ex istis manifeste sequitur, cum papa ex lege domini tantum stringitur in moribus sequi Cristum, et tam manifeste vadit viam ontrariam, totus[2] cristianismus debet ipsum[3] reprehendere, et speialiter superiores domini seculares. Sic enim Cristus, qui peccare non poterat,[4] vocat Petrum sathanam, quia voluit[5] dominum anteire,[6] ut patet[7] Matth. 16[a]. Sic Paulus in facie[8] Petro restitit, quia reprehensibilis erat[8] ad Gal. 2[b], cuius reprehensionis causa fuit, quia Petrus non fovebat generaliter ecclesiam,[9] sed personas aliquas acceptavit. Papa autem culpabilius[10] acceptat[11] causam propriam magis contrarie caritati et propter hanc causam beatus Bernhardus redarguit papam Eugenium[c], quod[12] deserens Cristi pauperiem vixit[13] nimis seculariter ac eciam dominanter.[14]

CAP. VI. [a] *v. 23; 24: qui (Iesus) conversus dixit Petro: vade post me, satana, scandalum es mihi; etc. Tunc Iesus dixit discipulis suis: si quis vult post me venire, abneget semet ipsum etc.* [b] *v. 11* [c] *with ref. to the preceding passage, cp. the parallel text of the english Tract De Pontif. Rom. Schism., ed. Arnold, S. E. W. III, 250: As Poul repreved Petir for a li3t trespasse, Bernar drepreved Eugenye for he was to worldly, and left þe office of apostil, and took office of Ante-*

[78] sit *ABCE* sic *DG* [79] opposite *ABCDG* apposito *E* [80] sibi *ABCE* sub *DG* [81] opposita Cam 6m *A* opp. Capm Quintum *B* opp. 6m *C* opp. etc. Sequitur Cam *D* opp. Capitolum 6m *E* opp. *G, here without the number of the chap., but, as in the former cases, a new line begins*

CAP. VI. [1] 6 *C in mar.* 5 *B in mar.* VI *D in mar.* *om. AEG* [2] contrariam totus *ACDEG* cont. sic enim *etc. B, but with mark of ref. above the col.:* totus cristianismus d. i. r. et sp. su. do. se. *B*[1] *(?)* [3] ipsum *AB*[1]*CDE* eum *G* [4] poterat *ABCDE* potuit *G* [5] voluit *ABCEG* voluerit *D* [6] anteire *ABCD G,E*[2] *in mar.* anire *E* [7] patet *ACDEG* *om. B* [8] facie *ACDEG* faciem *B* [9] Petrus non f. g. e. *ABCGD* Petrus *(after it an illegible correction of a letter which had first been written at the place)* non bant ecclesiam generaliter *(sic) E* [10] culpabilius *ACDEG* culpabilis *B* [11] acceptat *ABCDG* attemptat *E* [12] quod *ABCDG* quia *E* [13] paup. vixit *etc. ACDEG* paup. clamarent *etc. B, but above the col.:* vixit n. s. et eciam d. l. autem *B*[1] [14] ac ec. dominanter *CDG* et ec. dom. *AB* ac ec. dominantur *E*

Lapides autem clamarent contra istam falsissimam yprocrisim iam regnantem, cum asina Balaam propter minus peccatum sui magistri ipsum modo, quo pertinuit[15] bestie, reprehendit, ut patet Num. 22.[d]

Idem ergo esset negare[16] hanc[17] reprehensionem dyaboli contra Cristum et[18] ipsum Cristum[19] tamquam dominum diffiteri et dyabolo tamquam eius captivus[20] vecorditer consentire. Patet autem ex fide, quam debemus habere de domino Iesu Cristo, quod ipse non potuit propter tam seculare negocium tot contratas[21] ad sic bellandum[22] contra se[23] ipsos[24] pro vindicta propria concitare. Cristus enim, quando iniuriatum fuit sibi in vite necessariis, Luc. 9,[e] passus est humiliter reprobando apostolos, quia voluerant[25] vindicari. Quando pandere potuit culpabile[26] propositum Scarioth,[27] et apostoli, sed Petrus specialiter, in ipsum irruerent,[28] voluit[29] particulariter detegere culpam suam, ut patet Matth. 26[f]. Quando eciam potuit inimicos suos intuitu uno prosternere, ut patet Ioh. 18,[g] ipsos gracioso accessu humiliter[30] toleravit. Et breviter tota conversacio Cristi sonat in humilem pacienciam et non in causam hominis vindicandam.[31] Et cum ad istum finem Cristus passus est pro vobis,[32] vobis[32] relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini[33] vestigia eius, ut dicitur I Pet. 2,[h] quis

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crist. As to the matter in question, see St. Bernard. Epist. CCLXVIII, where Pope Eugene III., the former pupil and the friend of Bernard, is reprimanded by the out-spoken doctor on account of his having promoted an unwortly person to an appointment in the Church [d] *v. 28 f.* [e] *v. 54 ff.* [f] *v. 33* [g] *v. 6* [h] *v. 21*

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[15] pertinuit *ABDEG* pertimuit *C* [16] negare *CDG* notare *AB* necare *E* [17] hanc *ABCDG* *om. E* [18] Cristum et *ACDEG* Cristum tamquam *etc. B, but in mar.* et ipsum Cristum *B'* [19] Cristum *BCDEG* Cristi stum *A* [20] captivus *BDG* captivo *ACE* [21] contratas *ABCDG* contractas *E* [22] bellum *is add. in A in mar. by A'*, *and in E by E²* [23] se *ACDEG,B' in mar.* *om. B* [24] ipsos *BCDG* ipsas *AE* [25] voluerant *ABCE* voluerunt *DG* [26] culpabile *AE* culpabiliter *BCDG* [27] scarioth *CDG* scariothis *A* scariotis *BE* [28] irruerent *ABCE* irruerunt *D* irruit *G* [29] voluit *BCDG* noluit *AE* [30] humiliter *ABCDE* humiliore *G* [31] *in D is add. in mar.:* Conversacio Cristi sonat in humilem pacienciam et non in causam hominis vindicandam *D'* [32] vobis *C* nobis *ABDEG* [33] sequamini *C* sequamur *ABDEG*

yabolus est ille, qui wlt[34] frustrare tam perfectum[35] Cristi proositum et ponere se[36] Cristi adversarium, tam patenter excitando ıntum ¦[37] populum contra Cristi populum in causa tam frivola di-|| *C fol. 139a* nicare. Revera celum in tanta audacia luciferina stupesceret et ie mentes, in quibus est misericordia, super oppressis confratribus ondolerent. Paulus enim dicit II[38] Cor. 11[i]: quis[39] infirmatur, et go non infirmor? quis scandalisatur et ego non uror? Multo magis vellet oppressis[40] tam dyabolica tyrannide condolere.[41] Quomodo, rogo,[42] diceret talis capitaneus vel sibi consenciens oracionem dominicam: dimitte nobis peccata[43] nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, ut dicitur Luc. 11.[k] Revera, si deus tractet[44] similitudinem ad propositum, complendo quod petitur, sic orantem, nisi satisfecerit, severissime condempnabit, et nisi vestem nupcialem novam habuerit,[45] in finali iudicio non evadet. Ubi ergo est doctrina Cristi Matth. 5:[46 l] diligite inimicos vestros, cum homines neutri[47] in causa ambigua sint[48] sicut[49] a deo[50] persecuti.[51] Et ad colorandum[52] omnia ista facinora innititur[53] isti merdoso[54] porismati, quod inferior non debet superiorem[55] corripere, sed virtute obediencie[56] facere, quidquid mandat. Et inter omnia blasphema axiomata[57] hoc est magis hereticum et plus extollit dyabolum supra Cristum. Vel ergo talis[58] prelatus inerrabilis et incorrigibilis est[59] sicut Cristus, vel est plenus iniuria, ut membrum dyaboli. Si primo modo, cum[60]

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[i] *v.* 29 [k] *v.* 4 [l] *v.* 44

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[34] wlt *BCDEG* wt *A, but the* l *is add. later by A*[1] [35] perfectum *CDG* sanctum *AE,B, corr. from* factum [36] se *BCDEG om. A* [37] *from this col. on the hand of the scribe in C becomes smaller, the ink paler* [38] II *ADE om. BCG* [39] quis *ABCDG* si quis *E* [40] oppressis *ACDEG* oppressus *B* [41] condolere *ACDEG* condolore *B* [42] rogo *ACDEG* ergo *B* [43] peccata *ACDG, B*[1]*E*[3] *in mar.* debita *B* de.*(sic) E* [44] tractet *ABCDG* tractat *E* [45] habuerit *ABCEG* habuit *D* [46] 5 *ABCDGE*[3] *in mar.* II *(?) E* [47] neutri *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* vestri *(ud.) E* [48] sint *ABCEG* sunt *D* [49] sicut *CDG om. ABE* [50] deo *ABCDG* domino *E* [51] persecuti *ABCDE* prosecuti *G* [52] colorandum *ABE* tollerandum *CDG* [53] innititur *ABCDG* inmittitur *E* [54] merdoso *BDE* mardoso *AC* mordorso *G* [55] superiorem *ABCDG* co *(ud.)* superiorem *E* [56] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Obediencia *A*[1]*E*[2] [57] axiomata *ABD,C, corr. from* anxioma anxiomata *EG* [58] talis *CDG* est talis *ABE* [59] est *CDG om. ABE* [60] cum *ACDG* modo cum *E* tunc *B*

vivit tam seculariter et tam vindicative, sicut Cristus non pc manifeste extollitur supra Cristum. Si secundo modo, quis est dux cristiani exercitus,[61] qui prohibet Cristi militem ad talem bolum corripiendum vel[62] fideles populos[63] de sua versucia niendum?[64]

Cum autem talis non ut bonus angelus in gracia est[65] firmatus, sequens est[66] cum datis,[67] quod sit tamquam lucifer peccato dyabolico induratus.

Quis, rogo, pius de humilitate ac caritate Cristi recolere non horreret unum fingentem,[68] se esse immediatum Cristi vicari suam frivolam[69] iniuriam taliter vindicantem et super hoc fingen mendaciter, se habere a Cristo inestimabilem potestatem ad milites certantes in causa tam personali contra doctrinam don Iesu Cristi tam mirifice beatitudine premiandum? Revera infid horreret istud mendacium. Quis ergo Cristum diligens contin se in ista blasphemia, ne loquatur? Cum ergo talis debet[70] fa humiliter, se esse peccatorem, in horrenda[71] peccata[72] de facili cidentem, debet gaudenter correpcionem fraternam recipere et errore celeriter se ipsum corrigere, quia faciendo oppositum osten se esse meridianum demonium, quod retribuit malum pro bono, sinens nec sperans, quod ab antiquo[73] crimine liberatur.

Sic enim dyabolus, desperans de sua correccione, deridet, m facit et insidiatur homini, qui ipsum nititur emendare.[74]

CAP. VII.[1]

Sed pro ista parte gravius instatur[2] attemptando[3] ut[4] func mentum huius materie, quod papa fuit electus legittime in istud offici

[61] exercitus *ABCDG* exercitatus (ta *sd.*) *E* [62] vel *ABE* ut *CD* et [63] populos *ACDEG* scilicet populos *B* [64] muniendum *ABCDG* inmin dum *E* [65] i. gr. e. *CDG* e. i. gr. *ABE* [66] est *ABCEG* eum *D* [67] tis *ABCDE* dato *G* [68] fingentem *ABCDE* fingere tam *G* [69] frivol *ACDEG* frivolem *B* [70] debet *ACDEG*, *B*[1] *in mar.* *om.* *B* [71] horrenda *DEG* horrendo *A* [72] peccata *CDG* peccata, *above it* crimina *A* crimi *BE* [73] antiquo *ABCDG* antiquato *E* [74] em. *ABCEG* em. etc. *D*

CAP. VII. [1] 7 *ACDE* sextum *B* *om.* *G* [2] gr. in. *CDG* in. gr. *A in C is add. in mar.:* Obicitur [3] attemptando *CDG* acceptando *ABE* [4] *BCDEG* *om.* *A*

capitis ecclesie. Ex quo convincitur, tum quod habet a Cristo potestatem innumerabilem ad suos milites premiandum, tum eciam quod debet[5] ex caritate, quam debet habere ad Cristi ecclesiam, cuius est caput, in causa ista operari viriliter,[6] ne fideles subditi sint heretici.[7]

Hic sepe dictum est, quod nec potestas cardinalium nec alicuius hominis citra deum se extenderit[8] ad eligendum vel constituendum quemquam[9] in caput[10] vel membrum || Cristi ecclesie. Cum ergo || *C fol. 139b*
Cristi apostoli non audebant Matthiam eligere in Cristi apostolum, sed mittendo sortem eleccionem commiserant domino Iesu Cristo, ut patet Act. 1[b], quis est ille, qui ex eleccione talium cardinalium et ex vita sua tam debili audet tantum ecclesiam perturbare? Patet quidem ex fide, quod Cristi vita fuit longe melior, quam est sua, et cum Cristus summe sapiens prohibuit Petrum volentem pugnare[11] pro defensione[12] vite tam bone, quomodo ergo sequitur vicarius talis Cristum, qui non pro defensione vite, sed pro papatu cesareo excitat tot homines ad pugnandum?

Indubie vel oportet concedere Cristum imprudenter fecisse in isto,[13] vel quod ista papalis[14] dignitas est melior vita Cristi, vel aliter, quod papa iste vadit contrarie ad Cristum, vel Cristum ut sathanas antecedit. Nec valet hic[15] hereticorum sompniata garricio, quod Petrus ideo fuit a domino[16] reprobatus, quia nitebatur redempcionem humani generis impedire, et illam fuit necessarium adimpleri.[17] Cristus enim est[18] omnipotens, et si[19] voluit vitam

CAP. VII. [a] *Cp. Suppl. Trial. 450, where the same theme is treated of* [b] *v. 26*

[5] debet *ABCDG* habet *(ud.)* debet *E* [6] viriliter *ACDEG* *om. B* [7] heretici *ABCD,E³ in mar.* fraudati *E* hereticis *G* [8] extenderit *CD* extendit *ABEG* [9] quemquam *BDEG* quidquam *(?) AC* [10] *in D is add. below the col.:* Ad eligendum vel constituendum quemquam in caput nec est potestas cardinalium *D¹* [11] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Bellum *A¹E²* [12] defensione *ACDEG* defessiona *B* [13] isto *ACDEG* ista *B* [14] ista papalis *etc. ACDEG* ista ut sathanas *etc., but with mark of ref. above the col.:* papalis d. e. m. v. C., v. a., q. p. i. v. contrarie aut quod Cristum *B¹* [15] hic *ABCDE* hec *G* [16] ideo f. a. d. *ABCDG* ideo a. d. f. *E* [17] adimpleri *BCDEG* adimplere *A* [18] est *ACDEG* *om. B* [19] si *ABDEG,C, but corr. by C³ into* sic

suam defendi et non pati iniurias ad posteris exemplandum, liter[20] potuit ordinare media pro adversariis substernendis.[21] cessitas autem futurorum[22] dei voluntatem eternam implenciu impertinens[23] merito vel[24] demerito, cum cruciantes Cristum ex necessitate illa laudantur nec a crimine excusantur;[25] quia nia, que evenient,[26] sit necessarium evenire,[27] omne opus hum foret laudandum ut meritorium vel ut demeritorium increpan Cristus enim[28] ordinans suam pacienciam pro exemplo nolu carium suum pro defensione papatus occidere fratres suos, s liter cum melius regeretur ecclesia et legi Cristi conformius sin cesarea dignitate.

Similiter cum[29] Cristus in ostendendo suum universal minium asinavit[30] in statu tam pauperi, ut patet Matth. 21[c] pannos apostolorum sine sella[31] vel streparum splendencia,[32] no in statu pape vel cardinalium ipsum sequencium tantam[34] pomp equis et[35] sellis[36] cum aliis apparatibus equestribus suis vica derelinqui; et tamen ostendendo suum universale dominium ibidem[38]: si quis vobis aliquid dixerit, dicite,[39] quia dominu opus habet, et confestim dimittet eas,[40] ubi patet, quod mo equitatura[41] sacerdotum confunditur, cum non sit a racion Cristo[42] divinite[43] exemplata.

Similiter Cristus ex summe sagaci prudencia[44] mittit disci

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[c] *v. 7*

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[20] faciliter *BCDG* finaliter *AE* [21] substernendis *BCDE* substern *AG* [22] futurorum *ABCDG* furtorum *E* [23] impertinens *BCDEG* nens *A* [24] vel *ABCDG* sive *E* [25] excusantur *ABCDG,E*[3] *corr. into* recusantur *E* [26] evenient *ABCDE* eveniunt *G* [27] *in D is add. in mar* cessario eveniunt *D*[1] [28] enim *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* ergo *E* [29] cum *A om. G* [30] asinavit *E,C*[2] *(?) in mar.* asinavit, *above it* id est asinam asignavit *BCDG* [31] sella *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* celle *(ud.) E* [32] dencia *ABCDG,E*[3] *in mar.* pendencia *E* [33] noluit *ABCEG* voluit *D* tam *ABCDE* tam *G* [35] et *ABCEG* vel *D* [36] sellis *ACDG* c cellis *E* [37] vicariis *ACDEG* vacariis *B* [38] dicit ibidem *ABCDG,E*[3] *om. E* [39] dicite *ABCDG* tunc dicite *E* [40] eas *ABCE* eos *DG* [41] tatura *ABC* equitacio *DG* equitura *E, but corr. into* equitatura *by E*[3] [42] *ABCDE* a Cristo *G* [43] divinite *(?) B* deite *A, but in mar. by A*[3] *(!* divite *CDG* debite *E* [44] sag. pr. *ABCDG* pr. sa. *E*

suos sicut agnos inter lupos, ut patet Luc. 10.[d] Non ergo est exemplatum a[45] Cristo, ut vicarius indignior apostolis sit cum tot armatorum apparatibus defensatus.[46]

Similiter Cristus[47] in Paulo loquitur dando in Timotheo episcopis regulam ad vivendum; patet[48] I[49] Timo.:[50e] oportet, inquit, episcopum non esse percussorem, et per consequens papa non debet esse auctor mortis totidem animarum.

Similiter ut[51] patet ex caritativa Cristi paciencia, oravit pro inimicis, quando fuit iniustissime persecutus. Nam Luc. 23[52f] scribitur: pater ignosce illis hoc peccatum, quia nesciunt, quid faciunt. — Numquid credimus, quod ista papalis persecucio sit ab ista oracione Cristi humillima exemplata?

Similiter Cristus animando suos apostolos, quod non timerent mortem persequencium, docuit ipsos pacem populo generaliter imprecari, ut patet Matth. ||[53] 10[g], Luc. 9[h] et 10[54i]. Numquid credimus, quod iste bulle papales[k] de privilegiis et fictis suffragiis in sua causa occidencium[55] sonant in pacem populo impetrandam?[56] || *C fol. 140a*

Similiter Cristus tamquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est et ad horam mortis secundum formam, quam apostolis predicaverat,[57] gratis venit,[58] ut patet Act. 8[l], Ies. 53[m]. — Numquid credimus, quod in hoc ista crucis excogitata[59] ereccio fuit in hac vita Cristi mandatorie exemplata? Et certum est, si[60] non in istis septem, non alicubi potest ista crucis ereccio exemplari, sed in istis, sicut in

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[d] *v. 3* [e] *v. 3* [f] *v. 34* [g] *v. 12—13* [h] *v. 3 (the quotation is not accurate)* [i] *v. 5—6* [k] *cp. them in Walsingham, H. A. II, 71 ff.* [l] *v. 32* [m] *v. 7*

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[45] a *ABCEG* in *D* [46] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Pugna papo A^3E^2 [47] Cristus *ABCEG* Cristo *D* [48] vivendum patet *ACDG* vivendum populum *B* vivendum *E, but* populum *in mar. add. by* E^3 [49] prima *E* *om. ABCDG* [50] 3o *ABCDG* et *E* [51] ut *ACDEG* sicut *B* [52] 23o *ABDE* 22o *CG* [53] *there stood a gloss in red ink in C below col. 139b, which has been rendered illegible by some strokes in deep black ink* [54] luc. 9 et 10 *ABCDG*, E^3 *in mar.* *om. E* [55] occidencium *ABDE*, C^2 *corr. from* accid. accidencium *CG* [56] pacem p. impetrandam *ABCDE* pace p. impetranda *G* [57] pred. *CDG* suis pred. *ABE* [58] venit *BCDG* vehit *(!) AE* [59] excogitata *ACDG* excogita *AE* [60] si *C* quod si *ABDEG*

gestis Cristi communiter tamquam anticristi facinus condempnar Apostoli quidem et martires acceperunt exemplum a Cristo co trarie[61] paciendi,[62] et certum videtur, quod ipsi in sua paciencia voluntatem domini sanius[63] conceperunt.

Ex quibus oportet concedere, quod talis papa sicut et sui sa tellites gradiuntur[64] in isto viam dampnabilem contra Cristum Oportet ergo fingi novum ewangelium, contrarium ewangelio[65] Iesu[66] Cristi[67] vel ista persecucio est dampnabiles operacio ant cristi. Ubi enim Cristus asserit suis apostolis: in paciencia vestr possidebitis animas vestras, ut dicitur Luc. 21,[n] iste prelatus[o] asseri quod in persecucione hac[68] anticristiva, nedum[69] in corpore, salvi bimini, sed volabitis ad beatitudinem sine pena.

Et breviter transcurrendo per omnia dicta et gesta Cristi[70] iste homo peccati est plene[71] contrarius Iesu Cristo, ut Cristus fui summe humilis et in iniuriis summe paciens, — iste autem est nimi superbus et proprie iniurie vindicativus.[72p]

Cristus fuit summe pauper et non habens, ubi caput suum reclinet,[73] ut dicitur Matth. 8[q] — iste autem est[74] summe secu lariter dives, habens castra ex bonis pauperum fraudulenter rapti constructa.[r]

Cristus eciam[75] fuit humillime et utilissime ministrativus,[76] u patet Ioh. 13[s] — iste autem dominatissime exigit a quibuscunque aliis hominibus ministrari.

[n] *v. 19* [o] *the pope as such* [p] *as to this, cp. De Christo et s. adv. cap. XI* [q] *v. 20* [r] *as to this, cp. De Christo et s. adv. cap. XI* [s] *v. 5 ff.*

[61] contrarie *BCDEG* contrarium *A* [62] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Pati A^1E^1 [63] sanius *ACDE* salius*(?) AG* [64] gradiuntur *ABCDG* graduntur *E* [65] ewangelio *ADEG* ewangelium CB^1 *om. B* [66] ew. con. ew. I. *ACDEG* ewangelium Iesu *B, but in mar.* contrarium ewangelium *by* B^1 [67] Cristi *ACDEG* Cristo *B* [68] hac *ABCDG* *om. E* [69] ant. ned. *ACEG* ant. Et breviter transcurrendo per omnia dicta et gesta Cristi iste homo *(from* Et *on cr. out & ud.)* nedum *B* antichristiana nedum *D* [70] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Vita Cristi A^1E^2 [71] plene *ACDEG* plenus *(cr. out & ud.)* plene *B* [72] vindicativus *BDEG* vindicatus *AC* [73] reclinet *ABCDE* reclinaret *G* [74] est *ACDEG* *om. B* [75] eciam *ABCDG*, E^3 *in mar.* autem *E* [76] ministrativus *B(?)CDEG* ministratus *A*

Cristus in magno labore et pera peragravit civitates et castella ewangelizando et benefaciendo quibuscunque, quos visitaverat,[77] — iste manet inclusus in proprio castro tamquam pallacio et mittit bullas blasphemas[78] quibuscunque regionibus, que illas voluerint[79] acceptare. Et breviter, non sunt[80] vite aliquorum hominum magis contrarie, quam sunt iste.[81][1]

CAP. VIII.[1]

Sed ulterius ex fide scripture arguit anticristus profundius. Nam in fide Luc. 9[2][a] sic loquitur: dedit eis potestatem super omnia demonia et ut langwores curarent. Numquid credimus, quod ista[3] dei potencia est exhausta, sic, quod non possit in ista militante ecclesia servare potenciam, quam tunc dedit? Nullus ergo est magis[4] hereticus quam ille, qui negat hanc potestatem in ecclesia usque ad[5] diem iudicii perdurantem.

Hic oportet fidelem diligenter attendere, quomodo Cristus numquam dedit suis apostolis specialem[6] potenciam, nisi quam in fructuoso opere ostendebant. Cristus enim non fuit falsus sompniator de ficcione[7] huiusmodi potestatis, sed in perfeccione || operis ad utili- || C fol. 140b tatem ecclesie potestatem, quam dederat, ostendebat.[8] Et propter hoc[9] pro sophisticacione potestatis[10] cum diligencia est notandum, a quo signo potest fidelis convincere[11] huiusmodi potestatem.[12] Non

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[1] *with ref. to the whole preceding passage, cp. De Christo et s adv. cap. XI and XII, where the matter in question is treated more fully* CAP. VII. [a] *v. 1*

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[77] visitaverat *ACDG* visitaverit *B* visitavit *E* [78] blasphemas *ABCDG* fa *(sd.)* blasfemias *E* [79] voluerint *ACDEG* voluerunt *B* [80] sunt *ABCD G, E[2] in mar.* sic *(cr. out) E* [81] iste *ABEG* iste etc. *CD* *in AE there is add. in mar. an illegible gloss by A[1]E[2]*

CAP. VIII. [1] VIII *CDE* 7 *B* *om. AG* [2] 9 *ABCDE* 8 *G* [3] ista *CDG* nunc ista *ABE* [4] magis *ABCEG* maior *D* [5] ad *ABCDG* in *E* [6] specialem *C* spiritualem *ABDEG* [7] de ficcione *BCD* ad ficcionem *AEG* [8] ostendebat *ACDEG* ostenderat *B* [9] hoc *ACDEG* hec *B* [10] *in AE is add. in mar.*: Potestas *A[1]E[2]* [11] convincere *BCDEG* comittere *A* [12] *in D is add. in mar.*: A quo signo potest fidelis cognoscere potestatem *D[1]*

enim est res sensibilis vel demonstrative deducibilis[13] ex princi fidei, quam[14] scimus. Hoc autem imprimis credimus,[15] quod a stoli habuerunt a Cristo potestatem[16] ad edificacionem ecclesie mi bilia faciendi. Credimus insuper, quod sacerdotes sequentes a stolos possunt ex perversitate sue vite in potestate ista defic Nam Matth. 17[17 b] de apostolis legitur in Cristi presencia, quo non potuerunt demonium datum eicere, quod Cristus diffinivit fu propter defectum fidei in eisdem.[b] Quare ergo in tanto proce temporis non potuerunt sacerdotes plus peccantes in Cristi abse in potestate tali deficere, specialiter cum sit[19] manifestum,[20] q moderni presbiteri[21] longe viciosius Cristi vestigia derelinquunt?[22] Et credimus tercio, quod non debemus ut fidem accipere, quod sacerdos impresenciarum conversans nobiscum, ut papa, cardin vel episcopus habeat huiusmodi potestatem. Tunc enim po prescitus faciliter novos articulos fidei suscitare, et iterum falsifi fidem catholicam quoad illos.

Ideo cum tanta sophisticacio potest esse in illis prelatis, a fidelem ut[23] in catholicam[24] fidem accipere, quod iste prela eciam papa, a deo[25] habet[26] huiusmodi potestatem. Tunc e necessitaret cetus cardinalium per eleccionem[27] sepe culpabi Cristum infundere dyabolo huiusmodi potestatem. Nam secun apostolum Rom. 13[d]: non est potestas nisi a deo,[28] et sepe p contingere, quod prelati huiusmodi sint presciti et sic dyaboli carnati.

Quis ergo ut fidem acciperet, quod talis eleccio cardinal

[b] *v. 16* [c] *v. 17; 20* [d] *v. 1*

[13] deducibilis *ABCDG* credibilis *E* [14] quam *BCDG* quantun [15] credimus *BCDEG* scimus *A* [16] *in D is add. in mar.:* Potestatem habu apostoli *D*[1] [17] Matth. 17 *AE*, *but in mar. by E*[3] Marc. Mar. 17 *B* Mar. Matth. 7 *C* [18] quod *ABCDG* quando *E* [19] sit *ABCEG* sic *D* [20] festum *ABEG* nimium (? minimum) *CD* [21] presbiteri *ACDEG* sacerdo [22] derelinquunt *BCDEG* dereliquit *A* [23] ut *C* *om. ABDEG* [24] catho *ACDEG* catholico *B* [25] a deo *ABCG* a domino *E* *om. D* [26] habet habeat *BDG* [27] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Eleccio pape *A*[1]*E*[2] [28] deo *AE* domino *E* *in D is add. in mar.:* Non est potestas nisi a deo *D*[1]

necessitaret Cristum ad potestatem vel graciam pape irregulariter[29] infundendum.[30] Nam in cronicis apocrifis narratur communiter, quod in sexu pape[31] cetus cardinalium est seductus, sic, quod papam Annam[32] impregnatam elegerant.[e] Sed quomodocunque sit de hoc, certum est ex fide, quod totus cetus cardinalium potest communiter ad tantum seduci, quod eligat in papam unum dyabolum, odientem Cristi vestigia et ecclesiam plurimum perturbantem. Sic enim fuit de Scarioth electo[33] per Cristum in[34] tam[35] sancto consorcio educato[36] et per regulam tam infallibilem informato. Ideo absit fidelem credere tamquam fidem, quod quicunque papa, cardinalis sive episcopus habeat a Cristo datam[37] huiusmodi potestatem, sed ex operibus et sanctitate vite[38] sequendo Cristi vestigia possunt fideles capere supposicionem probabilem, quod papa habeat tantum de potestate[39] hac spirituali, quantum est necessarium ad con-|| tinuacionem ecclesie sancte dei. || *C fol. 141ᶜ*

Nam tamquam fidem credimus, quod ecclesia Cristi manebit usque ad diem iudicii[40] peregrinans. Nam Luc. 21[41f] dicit Cristus: amen dico vobis, non preteribit generacio ista, donec omnia fiant. Et ex isto eliciunt fideles ulterius, quod non oportet, quod[42] in collegio pape et cardinalium[43] stet[44] ecclesia sancta dei,[45] cum stat

[e] *According to a legend current in the Middle Ages, she was elected Pope between Leo IV. († 855) and Benedict III. († 858) and took the name of Johannes VIII. (or Anglicus); the earliest source affirming the legend is the Liber pontificalis of the Roman librarian Anastasius. See Döllinger, die Papstfabeln des MA.; N. Ch. Kist in the Hist.-theol. Zeitschrift 1844, 2. Part; also Hase, K. G.*[10] *p. 210* [f] *v.* 32

[29] irregulariter *CDG* regulariter *ABE* [30] infundendum *ABCDE* adfundendum *G, but* in *corr. above* ad [31] sexu pape *ABCEG* sex papis *D* [32] *in AE is add. in mar:* Anna papa mulier *A¹E²* *in D in mar.:* Anna papam elegerant impregnatam *D¹* [33] electo *D,C, corr. by C³* electum *AG* eleccio *BE* [34] *from* in tam -- multas patrias qui plus *the ink in B is run, the writing consequently in part illegible* [35] tam *ACDEG* tantum *B* [36] educato *ABEG,C corr. from* educatum educatum *D* [37] datam *ACDEG* *om. B, but add. in mar. by B¹* [38] vite *ABCEG* *om. D* [39] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Potestatem quis habet *A¹E²* [40] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ecclesia Cristi manebit ad diem iudicii *D¹* [41] 21 o *ABCDE* 22 *G* [42] quod *ABCDG,E³ in mar.* *om. E* [43] et cardinalium *ACDEG* vel et carnalium (car. *cr. out & ud.)* cardinalium *B* [44] stet *CE* stat *ABEG* [45] *in AE is add. in mar.;* Ecclesia *A¹E²*

omnes illos esse prescitos; sed potest esse, quod in pauperibus fidelibus[46] dispersis[47] per multas patrias, qui plus secuntur Cristum in moribus quam dicti satrape, stet militans ecclesia Iesu Cristi. Unde signum infidelitatis heretici est, quod pompet, se esse cardinalem[48] vel prelatum ecclesie sancte dei.[49] Nam si non est predestinatus, non est membrum ecclesie[50] sancte dei, sed ignorat, si est predestinatus. Ideo[51] ignorat, si est aliquod membrum huius ecclesie.

Que ergo dyabolica pompacio moveret papam ad asserendum ut fidem, quod sit caput beatissimum ecclesie militantis? Et ex isto colligunt[52] fideles ulterius, quod non in adinvencionibus huius curie nec in sacramentis[53] per hos satrapas[f] adinventis, sed in fide formata domini Iesu Cristi vivit ecclesia usque ad diem iudicii peregrinans. Ideo apostolus[54] signa ista adulterina[55] despiciens ad Gal. 2[g] sic loquitur: quod autem nunc vivo in carne, in fide vivo filii dei. Unde divisio paparum enucleat[56] in ista parte[57] sentenciam, cum uterque dicat, quod reliquus cum omnibus sibi adherentibus non vere ministrat aliqua sacramenta, et tamen[58] certum est quod in contratis[59] ambarum parcium possunt esse predestinati vivventes sancte in fide domini Iesu Cristi. Absit autem fideles credere, quod in sanctitate vite unius istorum vel alterius pendeat tot

[f] *a name very frequently employed by W. to designate the pope and his followers, the prelates, cp.* Of the Leaven of Pharisees, *in Matthew, E. W. h. u., p. 7; also cod. Ashburnham fol. 103[b] and in many places above* [g] *v.* 20

[46] fidelibus *ACDEG* *om. B* [47] dispersis *ACDEG* inspersis *B* [48] *in* . . *is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Signum infidelitatis heretici est quod pompet se esse cardinalem *D[1]* [49] prel. e. s. d. *ACDEG* prelatum sancte ecclesie matris [ma. *cr. out & ud., above it* dei *by B[1] (!)*] *B* [50] ecclesie *BCDE* id est *(cr. out)* eccl. *A* [51] ideo *ABCEG* ymmo *D* [52] colligunt *ABCE* colligerent *D* [53] nec in sacr. *ABCEG* vel in sacramentis *(cr. out) D, but in mar.* nec [54] apostolus *ACDEG* *om. B, but in mar. by B[1]* [55] adulterina *BCDG,E[3] in mar.* ad ultima *A* ad ultimam *(ud.) E* [56] enucleat *BC* enucliat *ADEG* [57] ista parte *CDG* parte istam *ABE* *in D is add. below the col.:* Divisio paparum *D[1]* [58] tamen *ABCE* cum *G* *om. D* [59] quod in contratis *A[4]* quod regnis *BDG,A, above it* in *by A[1]* quod in contratis regnis quod in regnis *C, there was left at first a blank space, into which* in regnis *was inserted afterwards by C[3]; the scribe could not, I suppose, read* in contratis

predestinacio Cristi eterna et salus tocius ecclesie militantis, cum probabiliter creditur, quod utroque istorum subtracto de medio vel dampnato staret ecclesia Cristi quiecius, quam stat modo, cum multi supponunt probabiliter ex vitis eorum, quod nichil illis et ecclesie sancte dei.[i]

Sillogizat autem fidelis in ista materia convincendo verba sophistica huiusmodi[60] potestatis ex hoc, quod fide credimus, nullum[61] prelatum hic habere potestatem nisi a domino Iesu Cristi.[62] Credimus insuper, quod Cristus[63] non dat potestatem homini nisi racionabiliter ad edificacionem ecclesie, dicente apostolo II Cor. 12:[64k] omnia enim, fratres carissimi,[65] propter edificacionem vestram. Nam Cristus non habebat nisi secundum illam mensuram humanitus potestatem, scilicet propter edificacionem ecclesie sue.

Et ex isto convincunt[66] fideles ulterius, quod multe potestates ficte hodie de indulgenciis[67] et absolucionibus a pena et culpa[68] in causa, que non sonat in edificacionem ecclesie, sunt sophistice atque false.

Ideo nec Cristus nec sui apostoli nec aliqui fideles Cristi discipuli invenerunt hos || terminos vel hunc modum seducendi fideles || *C fol. 141b* ecclesie,[69] antequam dyabolus est solutus.

Et ex eadem radice supponunt fideles, quod in confeccione eucharistie[70] non destruitur funditus terrena substancia, et quod congeries accidencium per se manet. Si enim presbiteri regulariter habent istam inestimabilem potestatem, habent ipsam a deo ad edificacionem ecclesie. Sed que utilitas, quod panis usque ad fundamentum in eo destruatur et sensus omnium illud sacramentum per-

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[i] *cp. the same idea below in De Christo et s. adv. cap. IX*
[k] *v. 19*

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[60] huiusmodi *BCD* huius *AEG* [61] nullum *ABCDG* quod nullum *E* [62] *in A is add. in mar.:* Potestas solum a deo *A^1, the same note in E below the col. by E^2* *in D is add. above the col.:* Fide credimus nullum prelatum habere hic potestatem nisi a domino Iesu Cristo *D^1* [63] Cristus *ABCE* deus *DG* [64] 12° *ACDEG* 13 *B* [65] carissimi *ABDE,C^3 inserted into the blank space* bonum *G* [66] convincunt *ACDEG* convincant *B* [67] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Indulgencie *A^1E^2* [68] culpa *ACDEG* a culpa *B* [69] ecclesie *BCDG,E^3 in mar. om. AE* [70] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Sacramentum *A^1E^2*

cipiencium per se[71] illudantur? Cum autem in hoc sacran unio Cristi cum sua ecclesia figuratur, tales sophiste[72] dyabol tentes destruere substanciam huius venerabilis sacramenti,[73] nosticant in multis carenciam huius venerabilis unionis.

CAP. IX.[1]

Sed adhuc infideles regarriunt,[2] quod iuxta hanc viam strueretur sacramentum penitencie et falsificaretur nobilissi dictum Cristi Matth. 16[3a]: quodcunque ligaveris super terram, ligatum et in celis[4] et quodcunque solveris super terram, eri lutum et in celis. Si ergo deesset prelatus, qui posset pec commissa destruere, quomodo staret ecclesia cum tanta grave criminis aggregata?[5]

Hic dictum est sepius,[b] quod sacramentum penitencie semper necessarium, licet auricularis modificacio iam adiecta cessit[6] ex avaricia anticristi. Sicut[7] enim Levit. 16[c] confe fuit[8] populus peccata sua in lege veteri, sic eciam in tem Cristi confessus fuit valde meritorie publicanus Luc. 18,[d] veritas scrutans corda de ipso testificetur,[9] ibidem: descendit iustificatus in domum suam a phariseo.[10] Et sic in lege gracie fessi sunt valde meritorie peccata sua multi erga alterutrum, ut p Jac. 5.[e] Et sic Magdalena, Petrus, Paulus et ceteri confessi meritorie omnino[11] deo et cristianis aliis peccata, que contra deu et ecclesiam suam commiserant. Tempore autem Innocencii te

CAP. IX. [a] *v. 19* [b] *cp. the Tract De Poenitentia, cod.* *Gersd. Bautzen MSt. 8. v. 7 fol. 13[b] ff.; cp. Arnold, S. E. W. I.* *Trial. 327* [c] *v. 15* [d] *v. 14* [e] *v. 16*

[71] per se *CDG* *om. ABE* [72] sophiste *ABCDG* sophistice *E, but al* *by E[3] into* sophiste [73] sacramenti *ACDEG,B[1] in mar.* *om. B*

CAP. IX. [1] 9um *CDE, also C[2] in mar.* 8 *B* *om. AG* [2] regarriunt *AB* redarguunt *E* *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota obieccionem *A[1]* [3] 16° *AB* 18° *D* [4] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Absolucio *A[1]E[2]* [5] aggregata *CD* gregata *ABEG* [6] processit *CDG* processerit *ABE* [7] sicut *C* sic *AB* [8] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Confessio *A[1]E[2]* [9] testificetur *ABCE* testificatu [10] *in D is add. in mar.:* De Confessione *D[1]* [11] omnino *ABCE* omnis [12] deum *ABCE* dominum *DG*

rca quod tempus sathanas est solutus et fratres intraverant,[f] modi-:ata fuit confessio ab illo Innocencio,[g] quod foret auricularis et bscondita, facta solidarie proprio sacerdoti, ut patet in lege super ıoc edita, 'de Penitenciis et Remissionibus' capitulo 'Omnis[13] ıtriusque sexus'[h]; et tales circumstancie genuflexionis, solitudinis, auricularis taciturnitatis cum limitacione sacerdotis, quem papa voluerit, et forma imposicionis manus in capite cum multis similibus non sunt necessaria generaliter ad salutem, cum cordis contricio[14] sine[15] confessione huiusmodi sepe delet peccatum, || ut di- *C fol. 142a*
citur Psal. 31[16][i]: dixi: confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei. Et verisimile est, quod satrape[k] propter enucleacionem[17] illius[18] sentencie nullis[19] hominibus offendentur, cum glosator ordinarius Iohannes de Deo[l] in studiis communibus leges papales detegens dicat istam sentenciam exquisite. Si autem hec glosa[20] foret falsa, ponens offensam fidei cristiane, olim fuisset destructa, sicut probabiliter ponitur[21] ex cura, quam papa poneret[22] in hac parte.

Et sic[23] dictum est, quod confessio, eciam dicta consuetudo noviter introducta, est necessaria cristianis, et de quanto mentes adiuvat, eciam hodie usitanda. Sed absit fidelem credere, quod deus sic pepigit cum hiis signis sensibilibus, quod non remittat peccatum vel det graciam, nisi hec signa sacerdoti, quem papa limitaverit, sint ostensa. Potest autem fieri persecucio in cristianos, qui ista omiserint,[24] sed longe sint iste[25] illibertates[26] perfidie[27] ab animo[28]

[f] *with ref. to this, cp.* *Suppl. Trial.* *409* [g] *with ref. to this, cp.* *Trial.* *327* [h] *cp. Corp. iur. can. ed. Richter-Fr., Leipz. 1879, Decr. li. V. tit. XXXVIII. cap. 12, II, 887* [i] *Ps. 32, 5* [k] *cp. above cap. VIII note f* [l] *Johannes de Deo, of Lusitania, a doctor of the canonical law well known in the 12th century*

[13] omnis *CDEG* omnes *(?) AB* [14] contricio *CDE,B corr. from* contricione contricione *AG* [15] sine *ACDEG* sepe *B (B*[1] *has inserted* sine *into the text),* sine *E, in mar. is* sepe *add. by E*[3] [16] 31° *ACE* *om. BDG* [17] enucleacionem *CD* enucliacionem *ABEG* [18] illius *ABCEG* eius *D* [19] nullis *ABCDE* ullis *G* [20] glosa *BCG* gloria *ADE* [21] ponitur *CDG* creditur *ABE* [22] poneret *ACDEG* ponet *B* [23] et sic *ABCEG* eciam *D* [24] omiserint *ABCEG* obmiserint *D* [25] iste *BCDEG* ista *A* [26] illibertates *ABCDE* illibertantes *G* [27] perfidie *CDG* perfidi *AE* *om. B* [28] ab animo *ABCDE* abero *G*

cristiano. Constat quidem, quod multi fideles illibertantur et de-cipiuntur in fide ac extenuantur[29] de pecunia per avaros presbiteros in confessione huiusmodi usitata.[m]

Ideo nemo potest ex parte dei legem statuere,[30] quod nemo si aliter absolutus, cum mille annis tempore legis[31] gracie, antequam ista consuetudo introducta fuerat, profecit ecclesia in virtutibus plus[32] quam modo et volavit ad celum spissius sine observancia huiusmodi[33] legis.

Contra hanc legem diffuse est invectum[34] alibi, sicut et contra restriccionem absolutorie potestatis. Nam Petro dictum est singu-lariter, ubi supra[n] et apostolis generaliter Matth. 18[o] et Ioh. 20,[p] quod quecunque[35] alligaveritis super terram,[36] erunt ligata[37] et in celis, et quecunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in celis. Iohannes autem post resurreccionem habet verba paululum variata: accipite, inquit,[q] spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, re-mittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt. Nec aliter vi-detur, quin in sacerdotibus[38] superflueret hec potestas.

Fideles autem in domino dicunt, quod non solum apostolis directa fuerant ista[39] verba, sed veris eorum vicariis, in vita[40] imitantibus dominum Iesum Cristum; et cum omnia verba Cristi usque ad iota vel apicem sint notanda, dicitur communiter, quod illi ligant vel solvunt homines super terram, qui exclusa affeccione terrena ligant vel solvunt eos conformiter capiti ecclesie triumphantis, et virtute huius ligacionis vel[41] absolucionis solvunt vel ligant fide-

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[m] *in order to exercise a pressure upon those who were about to con-fess, and to get assistance from them for the Crusade to Flanders, cf. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 705; Walsingh. II, 71 ff.; 56* [n] *Matth. 16,* [o] *v. 18* [p] *v. 23* [q] *Joh. 20, 23*

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[29] extenuantur *B^1C^2 in mar., A in mar. (by the texthand!)* extenuantur et exterminantur *E* exterminantur *ABCDG* [30] leg. stat. *ACDEG,B^1 in mar. om. B* [31] legis *ACDEG,B^1 in mar. om. B* [32] plus *ACDEG,B^1 in mar. om. B* [33] huiusmodi *CD* huius *ABEG* [34] invectum *ABCDE* inventum *G* [35] quod quecunque *ABCEG* quodcunque *D* [36] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Absolucio *A^1E^2* [37] ligata *ACDEG* ligatum *B* [38] sacerdotibus *ABCDG* sacerdoti-bus *E^3 corr. from* -tebus *by E* [39] ista *ABCDE* hec *G* [40] in vita *ACDEG om. B* [41] vel *ABCDG* vel so (so *ud.*) *E*

r. Sed oportet ligacionem vel absolucionem Cristi precedere npore vel natura, et vicarii Cristi habent nudam virtutem, ab- ucionem domini promulgandi. Magnum || tamen solacium est mini militanti, quod habet sacerdotem cum clave sciencie et po- statis ad taliter certificandum viantes, quod sunt apud deum liter absoluti. || *C fol. 142b*

Et patet, quod multi, usque ad summum pontificem inclusive, leficiunt ab absolucione hominum super terram, cum gracia terreni commodi, affeccionis vel amoris mundani pretendunt, se ficte mul- tos[42] absolvere, de quibus non est fides catholica, quod caput ecclesie sic absolvit, et illi non super terram,[43] sed in locis sub- terraneis vel angulis absconditis seducunt homines, quos cum signis adulterinis frequenter sophistice assecurant. In cuius signum[44] omnes confessores huiusmodi ignorant contricionem vel peccatum confessi; si confessus plenarie verum pandit et habito, quod ex revelacione illud[45] cognoverit,[46] nescit[47] proporcionare[48] penam,[49] vel quomodo ex recidivancia culpa non plene[50] dimittitur quoad deum.[51]

Ideo in ista materia currunt blasphemie infinite. Unde se- curum foret dolere fideliter de peccato preterito et cavere recidi- vanciam[52] pro[53] futuro et semper vivere in fide formata domini Iesu Cristi.

CAP. X.[1]

Sed[2] ultimo replicat anticristus, quod pape et sui satellites, eciam episcopi habent potestatem, adversarios, quos ipse limitaverit,[3]

[42] ficte multos *BCDG* multos ficte *AE* [43] et illi n. s. t. *ACDEG* *om. B* [44] *in AE is add. in mar.:* Nota A^1, *and* E^2 [45] ill. *BCDG* ill. idem *AE* [46] cognoverit *BCDG*,E^3 *in mar.* congruit *AE* [47] nescit *ACDEG* nescietur *B*,E^1 *corr. into the text* [48] proporcionare *ACDEG* proporcionari *B* [49] penam *ACEG* pena *B* penam penitenciam *D* [50] plene *ABCEG* pene *D* [51] *in A and E is add. in mar.:* Penalis *(A* penialis*?)* A^1, *and* E^2 [52] recidivanciam *ADEG*,B^1 *in mar.* recidivancia *C* [53] preterito et c. r. p. *ACDEG* preterito pro *B, but in mar. is add. by* B^1 et cavere recidivanciam

CAP. X. [1] Cap. 10 Obicitur pro bello A^1 Cap. 10 *CDE* novum capit. *B* *om. G* [2] *in A and E is add. in mar.:* Bellum A^1, *and* E^3 [3] limitaverit *CDG* limitavit *ABE*

debellandi;[4] et cum[5] ab irregularitate et quibuscunque pecca emergentibus in ecclesia[6] habet potestatem plenariam absolve videtur, quod habet potestatem limitandi talem pugnam in host qui aliter noluerint[7] emendari, et absolvendi aggredientes[8] a crimi committendo specialiter,[9] cum Luc. 22[a] mandat Cristus: nunc, q habet sacculum, tollat similiter et peram, et qui non habet, vend tunicam et emat gladium.[10] Ad quid ergo haberent episco cuiusmodi erant apostoli, gladium in hoc casu, nisi ad debella dum hostes ecclesie vel saltem ad[11] eos hostiliter absternendum?

Hic dicitur, quod papa et episcopi debent in tempore leg gracie pugnare[12] non superflue aerem verberando, sed propri corpus[13] castigando et cum predicacione[14] verbi dei ad pac ecclesie exhortando. Unde quicunque sacerdotes, maiores[15] v minores, aliter pugnaverint tempore legis gracie[16] gladio[17] co porali, deficiunt ab ista spirituali pugna et spiritualiter[18] pugna cum gladio verbi dei.

Necesse tamen est, sacerdotes insolentes, qui non sic pugna corpus proprium castigando, nec habent gladium verbi dei, in pug illicitas cum gladio materiali prorumpere.

Sed ve illis! Taliter ergo debent papa et sui episcopi cruc Cristi adversarios debellare, sed heu ewangelii predicacio est hodi
C fol. 143a interdicta et mundana exerci||tacio est a prelatis nimium comme data! Et sic cleri communitas a conversacione Cristi et suorum apostolorum nimium est perversa, sic, quod ipsis non supervive

CAP. X. [a] *v. 36*

[4] debellandi *ABCEG* ad bellandum *D* [5] cum *ABCDE* tantum [6] em. in eccl. *CDG* in eccl. em. *ABE* [7] noluerint *ABCDG* voluerint [8] aggr. *ABDEG* aliter *(ud.)* aggr. *C* [9] specialiter *ACDEG* *om. B* [10] *in* ... *is add. in mar.:* Emat gladium *D[1]* [11] ad *BCDE* *om. G* [12] *in D is* ... *in mar.:* Pugnare *D[1]* *in A in mar.:* Pugnare sacerdotem *A[1]* *likewise in* ... *but a few lines further below, by E[2]* [13] prop. cor. *CDG* cor. pr. *ABE* [14] pre-dicacione *ABCEG* predicare *D* [15] maiores *ACDEG,B[1] in mar.* *om. B* [16] gra-cie *ACDEG,B[1] in mar.* *om. B* [17] gladio *AC,E, but by E[3] in mar.:* cum ... gl. *BDG* [18] spiritualiter *CD* specialiter *ABEG*

[19] **vita**[20] coraule[21] nostri Cristi foret per fidem, quam de ipso **t ecclesia**, longe melius imitata, quia moderni satellites tripu-**tes**[22] per viam contrariam seducunt plurimos a Cristi vestigio **uendo.**

Et quantum ad absolucionem papalem[23] certum est, quod ab **no** peccato non potest absolvere, cum spiritus sanctus dicat **h. ultimo**[b]: est peccatum usque[24] ad mortem, non pro illo dico, **roget** quis, et Matth. 12[25][c] dicit Cristus: qui autem dixerit contra **itum** sanctum verbum, non remittetur ei in hoc seculo neque in **uro.** Ex qua fide patet secundum exposicionem Augustini,[26] quod **catum** usque ad finem hominis perseverans est irremissibile,[d] cum **s pertinenter** asserit, quod non dimittetur[27] in hoc seculo neque **futuro.** Papa ergo non habet potestatem[28] peccatum tale re-**ttere** et forte sic peccantem[29] sicut peccatum illud fideliter non **gnoscit.**

Resuscitet ergo suos occisos et moneat eos ad penitenciam **actuosam** exhortacionibus verbi dei, et tunc est evidencia, quod **b illo**, quod aliter foret peccatum in spiritum sanctum, illos ab-**vit**, quos sic vivificat. Sed verisimile est de[30] multis tam

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[b] *cap. 5, 16* [c] *v. 32* [d] *cp. August. Opp. tom. II, Lib. ad Bonifacium seu Ep. CLXXXV p. 662, F: cum dicit: Qui peccaverit in Spiritum Sanctum ... non utique omne, quod in Spiritum Sanctum peccatur facto seu dicto, sed aliquod certum et proprium intelligi voluit, hoc est, duritia cordis usque ad finem huius vitae, qua homo recusat in unitate corporis Christi, quod vivificat Spiritus Sanctus, remissionem accipere peccatorum*

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[20] superviventibus *ABDE,C*[2] *in mar.* supervenientibus *C* viventibus *G* via *ACDG,B*[1] *and E*[3] *(?) in mar.* *om. BE* [21] coraul le *(both cr. out)* coraule *in C add. above the col. 143*[a] *by C*[2] [22] tripudiantes *ABCDE* repugnantes *G, in mar. is add. by the texthand* nantes, *the first part of the word is cut away* [23] *in A is add. in mar.:* Absolucio papalis *A*[1] [24] usque *CDG* *om. ABE* [25] 12° *ABCDE* 15 *G* [26] exp. Aug. *ABCDE* Augustinum *G* *in D is add. in mar.:* Augustinus *D*[1] [27] dimittetur *ACDEG* dimittitur *B* [28] habet potest. *BCDG* potest potestative *AE* *in C in mar.:* Peccantem *C*[2] [29] peccantem *ABCDE* peccatorem *G* [30] de *ACDEG* quod de *B*

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presbiteris quam laicis,[e] quod ex instigacione sua ad pugnam defectu fidei orthodoxe inducit illos in temptacionem et necess ad peccatum usque ad mortem vel in sanctum spiritum committ dum. Nec irregulares prescitos[31] potest ad regularitatem[32] re tuere vel absolvere ut salventur.

Et patet, quod non omnia dicta[f] de absolucionibus tamqu ewangelium sunt credenda.[33] Et sic proposito peccatore[34] et oste peccato, quod videtur in arbitrio pape leve, nescit cum omnib suis[35] cardinalibus, si habet potestatem[36] ipsum plene absolve de plenitudine potestatis, quia nescit, si peccator ille vel ipse sit prescitus. Non ergo temptavit papa hucusque suorum hosti ultimam voluntatem,[37] quia nec predicavit[38] illis ewangelium, n remittendo iniuriam renunciavit omni statui suo cesareo, q tamen[39] debet omnis sacerdos et specialiter papa facere, cum C stus dicat Luc. 14[g]: omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciat omnib que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Dyabolicum itaq foret concilium, istud ewangelicum Cristi dimittere et inducendo temptacionem finalis impenitencie spem falsam de absolucione p mittere. Et sic licet in lege veteri licuit patriarchis pugnare,[40] Abrahe, David et ceteris, cum[41] ad hoc ex revelacione domini mandati, tamen tempore legis gracie splendente Cristi humilitate
|| *C fol. 143b* paciencia non video, quomodo licet alicui et specialiter || sacerd Cristi sine revelacione huiusmodi sic pugnar.

Et quantum ad illud[42] Luc. 22[h] allegatum,[43] dictum est, qu

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[e] *cp. Walsingham, H. A. II, 95* [f] *in the bulls sent to Engl on account of the Crusade, cp. them Walsingham II, 71 ff.* [g] *v.* [h] *v. 36, cp. above p. 626*

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[31] prescitos *BCDG,E[3] in mar.* potentes *A, E (ud.)* [32] regularitate irregularitatem *ABDEG* [33] credenda *ABCDE* tenenda et sic creden [34] prop. pecc. *ABCDE* proposita peccacione *G* [35] suis *ACDEG* *om. B* [36] *D is add. in mar.:* Nescit de potestate absolvendi *D[1]* [37] su. h. ul. vol. *ACD* suorum voluntatem ultimam *B, but in mar.* hostium *by B[1]* [38] predicavi predicat *GE* predicant *ACD* [39] tamen *ABCDE* tantum *G* [40] *in D add. above the col.:* In veteri lege licuit patriarchas pugnare *D[1]* [41] cum *AC* tamen *BE* [42] illud *BCDG* illud idem *AE, cp. IX, 45* [43] allegat *ABCEG* *om. D*

ulti pseudofratres heretici predicando superbiunt et excitant ultos episcopos et confratres[44] suos ad aggrediendum hanc agnam, quia non vident, ad quem sensum Cristus aliter mandaret s emere gladium, cum certum sit ex Psal. 108[i]. Iudas Scarioth t per consequens multi alii[45] apostoli erant episcopi, cum iuxta xposicionem Petri[k] spiritus sanctus de Iuda loquitur: episcopatum ius accipiat[46] alter. Prelati ergo habent artem in medio virtuose ugnandi et tempore, quo debent, a pugnis huiusmodi desistendi.

Tales sunt multe hereses, quibus fratres in ista pugna populum xcecarunt. Sed non legi de aliquibus fratribus aggredientibus stam pugnam, qui vel vendiderunt tunicam vel emerunt gladium, ed procurarunt per media sua solita[47] secures armorum et gladios miserunt.[48] Cum ergo secundum confessionem propriam sunt obligati ad omnia consilia ewangelica, quomodo proficeret exercitus, uem sic ducunt?[49]

Sed dimissis heresibus fratrum et factis suis irregularibus in hac parte videndum est de sensu catholico, quem Cristus edocet in hiis[50] verbis. Sciant ergo heretici imprimis, quod[51] Cristus noluit uos discipulos emere sibi materiales gladios[52] ad bellandum, primo[53] quia Cristus uno intuitu, sine verbo,[54] posset omnes inimicos suos prosternere, ut patet Ioh. 18[l]: Iesus itaque sciens,[55] que[56] ventura erant super eum, processit[57] et dixit[58][m] ad eos: quem queritis? Responderunt ei: Iesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Iesus: ego sum et

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[i] *Ps. 109, 8* [k] *cp. Acts 1, 20* [l] *v. 4—6*

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[44] confratres *CDG* fratres *ABE* [45] alii *BCDG* *mo. AE* [46] accipiat *BCDE,A, but* et *is add. above it by* A^1 accipiet *G* [47] solita *BCDG* solicita *AE* [48] emiserunt *BCDG* omiserunt *AE* [49] ducunt *ABCE* dicunt *DG* [50] hiis *ACDEG* suis *B* [51] verbis sciant e. h. i. quod *ABCDG* verbis quod *E, aber in mar.* sciant er. h. inp. E^4 *(?)* [52] em. s. m. gl. *ABCDG* em. ma. gl. si *E* *in D is add. above the col.:* Cristus noluit suos discipulos emere sibi materiales gladios ad bellandum D^1 *in A in mar.:* Gladii duo *by* A^1*, likewise in E below the col.:* Gladii duo E^2 [53] primo *ABCDE* *om. G* [54] verbo *ABCDE* uno verbo *G* [55] sciens *etc.* — dicit eis *BCDG* sciens dicit *A,E, here below the col. is add.:* que ventura — eis ego sum E^3 [56] que BCE^3G quia *D* [57] processit BCE^3G recessit *D* [58] dixit *C* dicit BDE^3G

sequitur.[59] Ut ergo dixit eis: ego sum, abierunt restrorsu[m et] ceciderunt in terram. Ille ergo, qui tam levi medio et prio[ribus] dictis suis consono[60] posset hostes suos prosternere,[61] non exci[tavit] discipulos suos[62] inermes et inertes per medium tam anxiu[m ad] debellandum, quia ut, dicit Hieronymus,[m] non mediocriter pe[ccat], qui propositis duobus bonis eligit minus bonum. Similiter Cri[stus] Petrum ante redarguit, quia pontificis servum cum tali gladio [per]cussit, ut patet Matth. 26[n]: tunc ait Iesus Petro: converte glad[ium] tuum[63] in locum suum. Omnis enim, qui accipit[64] gladium, gl[adio] peribit.[65] Cristus enim, apud quem sunt cuncta presencia, e[t in] quo non fuerunt[66] est[67] et non, noluit, discipulos suos sic cum [ma]teriali gladio sic pugnare.[68] Congruencius ergo[69] foret hiis [...] tribus predicare populo, quomodo omnis,[70] qui gladio percut[it] sine auctoritate regis pacifici, gladio peribit[72] divini iudicii, tunc posset dedisse illis[73] graciam istam[74] pugnam execrabi[lem] evadendi.

[m] cp. Corp. iur. can., ed. Leipz. 1879, I, 1418, Decr. p. III. dis cap. 24; the passage runs as follows: Mediocre bonum non est m[agno] praeferendum. Item Hieronymus (in regula monachorum ex Hiero[nymo] collecta — Polycarpus l. 3. t. 35): Non mediocriter errant qui magno praeferunt mediocre bonum. Nonne rationabilis homo dignit[atem] amittit, qui vel ieiunium caritati aut vigilias praefert sensus integr[itati], ut propter abstinentiam immoderatam atque indiscretam psalmorum officiorum decantationem aut amentiae aut tristitiae notam incu[rrat]. This passage is very frequently made use of by W., cp., for inst[ance] De Christo et suo adversario antichristo, cap. IX; also in De Ci[vilibus] nibus frivolis, cap. VII, above p. 561 [n] v. 52

[59] et seq. ABCDE om. G [60] consono ABCE consone DG [61] poss[et] s. p. BCDGE posset hostes A, but in mar. suos prosternere is add. by the hand [62] suos ABCDG om. E [63] tuum ACDEG,B[1] in mar. om. B [64] [acci]pit CDG acceperit E acceperint A accipiunt B [65] peribit CDEG peri[bunt] AB [66] fuerunt BCEG fuerint AD [67] est ACDEG nisi est B, nisi later in mar. by E[3] [68] sic pugnare BCDG pugnare AE [69] ergo AB[...] enim D [70] omnis ABCDG omnes E [71] percutit ABCDG percuciu[nt] [72] peribit ABCDG peribunt E [73] illis ABCEG eis D [74] istam ABCD[G] in mar. et sanctam (sa. ud.) E

Similiter Cristus[75] semper scit omnia, ut patet Ioh. 18[o]; ante-uam consuluit vendere tunicam || et emere gladium, cognovit illos || *C fol. 144a* nos gladios,[76] quos habebant. Cum ergo apostoli dixerunt[p]: ecce, uo gladii hic, et Cristus dixit: satis est, noluit, quod venderent unicas et emerent sibi materiales gladios ad pugnandum. Et sic fugeret frater hereticus pallidus in hoc puncto, qui dicit, quod Cristus[77] precepit vendere tunicam et emere materialem gladium[78] ad pugnandum. Loquitur ergo Cristus de gladio spiritus sancti, quem est pernecessarium habere in tali persecucionis articulo, ut persecutus lingwa tamquam gladio bisacuto duplici[79] moderamine temperet verba sua, sic videlicet,[80] quod non[81] irritet adversarium ex defectu amicicie[82] ad pugnandum, nec parcat veritati ad crimen propositum reprobandum.[83]

Ad habendum itaque gladium istum[84] debet homo[85] omnia temporalia, amicicias mundanas et propriam vitam relinquere, et tunc gladio spiritus sancti, quem apostolus dicit ad Heb. 4[q] esse tam penetrabilem, est vestitus. Isti autem duo gladii finguntur fuisse duo grandes cultelli[86] carnificum ad agnum paschalem tunc temporis occidendum, et Petrus gessit unum eorum. Sed credere potest, qui voluerit istis sompniatoribus. Ego autem nec credo hoc ut fidem catholicam, nec suppono, nec quod apostoli tamdiu servarunt hos cultellos[87] carnificum, nec quod tales cultelli[88] erant parati ad agnum anniculum[89] occidendum.

Supposito ergo, quod erant duo gladii[90] sicut ewangelium dicit ad literam, dicitur communiter, quod figurant duos gladios, qui

[o] *v. 4* [p] *cp. Luke 22, 38* [q] *v. 12*

[75] Cristus *ACDEG* cum Cristus Cristus *B* [76] *in D is add. in mar.:* Duo gladii *D¹* [77] quod Cristus *BCDEG* quod Cristus *(cr. out)* quod Cristus *A* [78] mat. gl. *ABCE* gl. mat. *DG* [79] duplici *ABCDG* scilicet duplici *E* [80] videlicet *BCDEG,A, above it* videlicet *is repeated by A¹* [81] non *ACDEG,B¹ in mar. om. B* [82] amicicie *CDG* miticie *ABE* [83] reprobandum *BCDG,E³ in mar.* expurgandum *A, E* (expur *ud.)* [84] g. i. *CDG* i. g. *ABE* [85] homo *ACDEG om. B* [86] cultelli *ACDEG* cutelli *B* [87] cultellos *ACDEG* cutellos *B* [88] cultelli *ACDEG* cutelli *B* [89] anniculum *ABCE* agniculum *DG* [90] *in A and E is add. in mar.:* Duo gladii *A¹, and E²*

sunt satis in ecclesia, scilicet gladium materialem deputandum brachio seculari, ut dicit apostolus Rom. 13[r], et gladium spiritualem sacerdotibus deputandum.

Exciplit taciacru etc.[91]

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[r] *v. 4: si autem male feceris, time; non enim sine causa gladium portat. Dei enim minister est, vindex in iram ei, qui malum agit.*

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[91] *i. e.* Explicit cruciata etc. Explicit Cruciata venerabilis et ewangelici doctoris Magistri Johannis Wyklef *A* Explicit cruciata ewangelici doctoris Incipit tractatus eiusdem de Cristo et eius adversario ca^{m} primum *B* Explicit Cruciata etc. Motus sum per quosdam *(beginning of De Fundatione Sectarum) D* Explicit cruciata id est contra bella clericorum Incipit tractatus de dissensione paparum ca. prim. *E* Explicit tractatus contra cruciatam *(is the last Tract of cod. G; it begins fol. 237, and is written by a hand different from that of the other Tracts; it is very much like that of cod. 3927; there is only in the ductus of the* d *a difference).*

XXIV.

DE CHRISTO

ET

SUO ADVERSARIO ANTICHRISTO.

DE CHRISTO ET SUO ADVERSARIO ANTICHRISTO.

I. Division.

I. *Introduction: on the unity of the Church, cap. I.*
II. *Philosophical-scholastic basis of the attack, cap. I—IV.*
III. *The attack itself, V—XV.*

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. The introduction starts from the doctrine of the Church. According to catholic teaching the community of the Elect is divided into three parts: the Church Triumphant (the blest in Heaven), the Church Militant (the living, at war with the world) and the Church Dormitant (those who have fallen asleep, i. e. the souls in purgatory), p. 653—654. These three parts must be in harmony, if the Church is to flourish. Hence the first condition of healthy life is unity and peace in the ecclesia militans. *This unity is grounded on Exod. XXV and Ephes. IV, p. 654—655.*

Chap. II—IV. From the unity of the ideal Church should spring that of the congregation of the faithful, which appears endangered by the quatuor secte noviter introducte. *This fourfold division tends to disunion, p. 656—657. The various objections, practical, sophistic and philosophical are to be set aside, p. 658—662.*

Chap. V. Having treated this materia abstracta, *the author proceeds to an examination, in polemical fashion, of the practical circumstances of the Church, as it then existed.*

According to apostolic doctrine the head of the Church is Christ: in the face of this fact the Romish claims are in every respect un-justifiable, p. 663. They come under the four following heads: (1) Is Peter the head of the Church? (Proof from Holy Scripture, from Peter's name), p. 664—665.

Chap. VI. *(2) Is Peter the Vicar of Christ, in respect of having a special prerogative above that of the other disciples? (scriptural and historical proof), p. 665—668.*

Chap. VII. *(3) Has the Roman Pontifex received his power from Peter (scriptural proof, with a reference to history [Silvester])? p. 669—671. — Wiclif's protest, p. 671.*

Chap. VIII—IX. *The lamentable division of the Church, the corruption of the clergy, the worldliness of the Pope, the incompatibility of the papal election by the cardinals with holy Scripture — all point to the same truth, that the Church can exist without the Pope, p. 671—676.*

Chap. X. *(4) Is the Pope (in questions of ethics and doctrine) infallible? — This, as well as the three first questions, is to be answered in the negative, p. 677—679.*

Chap. XI. *The Pope stands rather in a position of total antagonism to Christ: if this thesis can be proved, he is Antichrist. The proposition is then demonstrated in twelve cases:*

(1) Christ the truth — the Pope the principle of falsehood and lies (in words, writings, works), p. 680.

(2) Christ's poverty — the Pope's wordly magnificence.

(3) Christ's meekness and humility — the Pope's pride and cruelty (Crusade), p. 681—682.

(4) Christ's law perfect and sufficient — the Pope's new cruel law and his oppression of the faithful, p. 682—683.

Chap. XII. *(5) Christ's missionary zeal and exhortation to missionary work — the Pope and his followers either enthroned in gorgeous palaces, or shut up in monasteries, p. 683—685.*

Chap. XIII. *(6) Christ's contempt for secular power — the Pope's claim of dominion over all earthly kingdoms, p. 686.*

(7) *Christ's obedience to the Emperor — the Pope weakens the secular power, p. 686.*

(8) *Christ and this twelve simple disciples — the Pope and his twelve crafty, ambitious, and worldly cardinals, p. 686—687.*

(9) *Christ suffered for His own — the Pope exhorts to war, p. 687.*

Chap. XIV. (10) *Christ confined his mission to Judaea — the Pope has emissaries in every land, but only for the sake of power and gain, p. 688.*

(11) *Christ without pomp and ready to serve — the Pope has a magnificent court, and demands homage even from the Emperor, p. 689—690.*

Chap. XV. (12) *Christ despised worldly fame and gain of gold — everything is marketable with the Pope, p. 690—691.*[1]

This, in point of fact, is how matters stand. Conclusion: can the believer, who desires to be a disciple of Christ, take the Pope for his example? Certainly not, for in this case real following of Christ would be impossible, p. 692.

III. Date of Composition.

In the first place, the whole tone of the Tract, which is aimed against the Pope, points, as will be seen from the review of its contents, to the later years of Wiclif's life. — But we have besides distinct references to the double election to the Papacy, p. 674: Et idem patet . . . de eleccione erronea istorum paparum; *thus Wiclif has already at this time rejected Urban VI., whom he at first acknowledged:*[2] *his change of opinion dates apparently from Nov. 29, 1378, on which day Urban issued the bulls for a Crusade against Clement VII.*[3] *— Moreover the residence of the Popes at Avignon and Rome is implied, cp. p. 683* Nam quidam papa *etc. — Clement had*

[1] *It is characteristic, that in these antitheses the Evangelical Doctor appeals only to the Bible (especially to St. Matthew) for all his twelve propositions.*

[2] *Lechler, J. v. W. I, 648.*

[3] *cp. Lechler, ibidem.*

been elected on the 20th September 1378,[1] *and fled from Urban's ho-stilities to Avignon after Easter 1379.*[2] *Another reference, cp. p. 68:* Papa fugit latenter ut latro de loco in locum *etc.*[3] *seems to point to this flight. — Lastly, Wiclif mentions the Crusade itself p. 68* Ut patet de cruciata nuper erecta contra antipapam, qui videtur pape nostro pretenso plus humili[4] adversari *and p. 682:* Verisimile est, quod illis laborantibus in illa cruciata defecerunt fides, spes et caritas, et sic tam in corpore quam in anima sunt occisi. — *The Crusade, (and that the allusion is to the Crusade itself, not to the preparations for it, the second passage plainly shows) began in May 1383.*[5] *Bishop Spenser of Norwich embarked for Flanders in the middle of May 1383, but after a shortlived success in the war, was compelled to return to England soon after Michaelmas.*[6] *The end of 1383 or the beginning of 1384 may, therefore, be fixed upon with tolerable certainty as the date of composition.*

IV. Genuineness.

Upon this matter there can hardly be the shadow of a doubt; both internal and external evidence witness to the authorship of Wiclif.

Internal evidence: the style, ideas and mode of reasoning are throughout the same as in the undoubtedly genuine works of Wiclif; indeed so far does this correspondence extend, that particular trains of thought in other of Wiclif's works are here verbally repro

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[1] *Annales Ecclesiastici auct. Od. Raynaldo, Romae 1667, ad annum 1378 p. 56 ff.; Maimbourg, Hist. du Gr. Sch. I, 60 ff.*

[2] *Walsingham, I, 393.*

[3] *Cp. ibid.: Quod audiens, non (iam) Clemens, sed pene demens factus Antipapa, concito fugit ad quoddam castrum Reginae Neapolis, quod vocatur „Spelunca", ibidem latitans, donec furtive transvectus est a schismaticis Avinionem", cp. on Urban Knighton 2657, 46 etc. Maimbourg, I, 101.*

[4] *This accounts for the still very moderate language of Wiclif against Urban. The passage is of importance for this last stage of the conflict.*

[5] *Walsingham II, 88; according to Knighton 2672 44 in June 1383.*

[6] *Knighton 2672, 46*

duced.[1] *I could instance many passages which show a mutual relation; but space forbids my giving them in extenso.*[2] — *Wiclif also refers in several passages to earlier works.*[3] — *This may suffice for proof of the internal relation of the treatise to the undisputed works of Wiclif.*

External evidence:

(1) *De Christo etc. is attributed to Wiclif by Denis II, 1441; 1457; 1468; 1473; 1504. So too in Bale's Summarium fol. 155 (without an Incipit; according to Bale it is written in 2 books; Lewis, Hist. 145 and 352 had seen in Bale as Incipit:* Egressus Iesus de templo, Matth. 24; *there seems here to be a confusion with a sermon of Wiclif's on Matth. XXIV).*

(2) *cp. Walden, Doctr. Fid. II, 1*

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[1] *Cp., for instance, the beginning:* Secundum catholicos ecclesia est *etc. with De Civili Dom., cod. 1341 f. 116 c. 1; the quotation in Lechler, J. v. W., I, 542; the same passage in the very same order of words, Festival Sermons XLVIII in cod. 3928 f. 97 c. 3; XXIV Sermons XII, fol. 157 c. 3 and 4; also Arnold, S. E. W. III, 339: Cristis Chirche hath three partis etc. — Here is also another parallel-although not verbal-passage of the same Tract: For no pope that now lyveth woot where he be of the chirche, or where he be a lym of the fend, to be dampned with Lucifer, to be compared with p. 678:* Sed certum est quod nec papa in persona *etc.*

[2] *Cp., for instance, cap. VII, conclusion p. 671 with De Solutione Satanae (above p. 392):* De quanto fidei scripture consonat ac eciam racioni; *p. 656 with De Detectione Perfidiarum Antichristi (above p. 380):* Paulus docet ad Ephes. 4°, quomodo Cristi ecclesia debet diligere unitatem *etc.* — divisionem. *Cp. also p. 672 with Trial. 427:* Et statim post dotacionem *etc.; p. 669:* Et constat primo *etc. with Chron. Angl. 1328—88, ed. E. M. Thompson, London 1874, 343 or Walsingham II, 58 and Knighton, XScr, 2648 30 ff.; p. 669:* Nisi ut loquar *etc. with De Citacionibus friv. above p. 549; cp. also the quotation from the Corp. iur. with De Cit. friv. above p. 561. — Also the introductory* Numquid credimus *is peculiar to W. — The passage, p. 658 ff.:* Omne continuum componitur ex non quantis *is very frequently made use of by W. for his scholastic argumentations; it is taken from Grossetête, by whom the atomistic theory of Leukippos was defended and philosophically developped, cp. Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. LV.*

[3] *p. 656:* Sunt autem iste secte quatuor ut sepe dictum est *to be compared with De quattuor Sectis novellis (above p. 242); p. 657:* Ut dictum est alibi *to be compared with De Fundatione Sectarum, above p. 21.*

(3) *cp. in cod. B the Explicit of the Cruciata:* Explicit Cruciata ewangelici doctoris,[3] Incipit eiusdem de Christo et advers. *to be compared with cod. C, in which also the Cruciata comes first:* Explicit Cruciata venerabilis et ewangelici doctoris Magistri Iohannis Wyclef. — *cod. δ gives Wiclif's name at the beginning and end (here in the Czech form* Wyclefficek). — *Lastly cp. the emendator's remark, or the glosser's in cod. A and E, cap. VIII, conclusion, p. 671 in mar.:* Protestacio doctoris ewangelici; *cod. C only:* Protestacio magistri.

(4) *Cp. the Vienna catalogues above p. LIX ff.*

V. *Printed for the first time: De Christo etc. from the MSS. in the Vienna and Prague libraries edited by R. Buddensieg, 60 pp. 4^0. Gotha 1880, F. A. Perthes.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 239^d — 246^a	A^1 =	*Corrector and Glosser*
	A^2 =, A^3 =, A^4 =	*Glossers* nadir
cod. 3933 = B fol. 70^a — 76^b	B^1 =	*Corrector (in mar. and in the text)*
cod. 4527 = C fol. 124^b — 133^b	C^1 =	*Corrector (pale hand)*
	C^2 =	*Corr. (thin, scribbly hand)*
	C^3 =	*Glosser* (Silv. pen.)
cod. 3930 = D fol. 230^d — 239^d	D^1 =	*Glosser (pale thick hand)*
	D^2 =	,, *(small, black hand)*
	D^3 =	,, *(small, pale hand)*
	D^4 =	,, *(thick red hand)*

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[3] *This name is to be met with already in Wiclif's life-time, cp. Fasc. Ziz. 362. In fact, even in the shortest writings of W. continually reference is made to the Bible, in particular to the New Testament. Matthew is — as De Christo shows — a favourite of W. — W.'s frequent quotations from St. Augustin have secured for him from the part of his followers another distinguishing name, cp. Doct. Fid. I, 34:* Sui discipuli vocabant eum famoso et elato nomine Ioannem Augustini. *From the remark:* Nec ipsius Augustini verba evadere possunt, cuius discipulos se esse iactant *Fasc. Ziz. 167, it appears that also his followers laid claim to this honorable name, following the example of Berengarius, cp. Guitmundus, De verit. corp. et sang. Chr., f. 5^b.*

E^1 = *Corrector*

cod. 1337 = *E fol.* $125^a - 134^d$ E^2 = , E^3 = , E^4 = } *Glossers*

all these being in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. III. *G. 16.* = *δ fol.* $36^a - 39^a$ δ^1 = *Corrector* (*pale hand*). *The codex contains only capp. XI—XV;*

the latter being in the Univ.-Library at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. ***Their relationship.*** *Amongst the collated codd. there are two distinct families: A—E and C—D; B differs throughout from them; I have not the requisite data for deciding how far δ preserves its independence, owing to the small compass of the accessible text.*

I. Class A—E. (1) A and E are related to one another. (a) With a few exceptions, the two codd. are in verbal agreement, generally even to a comma and variations of orthography, for instance Ihesu *(in other places always abbreviated); even in the corrupt readings cap. II note 13; III, 5; 6; IV, 10; 28; VI, 34; 43; XI, 28 (to which many others might easily be added). The few exceptions are traceable either to carelessness in the copyist over his own writing (especially in the omission of single words):* primus *I, 30;* cler. ces. *II, 4;* consoluerunt *VI, 9;* petro in apost. *VI, 14;* locum *VII, 20;* est *IX, 18;* quando *IX, 22;* sit *IX, 25;* terrenendo *XV, 6;* quocunque *XV, 19 etc.; or to the hasty treatment of the original before him (A):* Macha *I, 29;* sed *VI, 23;* quando *VIII, 24; X, 18;* magnus *X, 35.*[1]

(b) In harmony with this slavish correspondence in the text is that of the marginal glosses. The text of A has been throughout carefully revised[2] *by a glosser,* A^1 *who has added all the marginal notes (with the exception of* Johannes XXIII *etc. V, 19;* Cyprianus *etc.*

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[1] *The following appear to me less traceable to this carelessness:* eius *II, 29;* innuuntur *V, 21;* anticrist. *VIII, 35;* sanctis *XIII, 15;* symoniaco *XIV, 11;* qua *XIV, 38*

[2] *from which original does not appear.*

VI, 20, which belong to the glosser A^2, Omnibus apost. *etc. VI,* Quare secta *etc. VIII, 14;* Quando erit *etc. VIII, 28;* Regulari *IX, 28;* Petrus *etc. X, 10;* Papa edific. *etc. XII, 16, which belo to glosser A^3, lastly* nadir *IV, 33, which belongs to glosser A^4.*[1]

These glosses belonging to A^1—A^4 (— 41 in number —) are to be found with the same wording only in E.[2] *It is also to be observe that from cap. IX the notes grow less frequent, and that from the middle of cap. XII they cease altogether: corresponding in both codd. moreover that the glosses of both coincide repeatedly, even to the unusual orthography, for example* capud ecclesie *in cap. IV and cap. V, whilst in the text both codices read* caput. *There are five marginal notes at the beginning of the Tract (two at the end of cap. and three in the middle of cap. II), also a note at the end of cap. IX which are peculiar to E and not to be found in A. — On the other hand, and this it is of importance to point out, the marginal glosses of the four other MSS. differ entirely, in position as well as in composition, both from one another and from those of class A—E.*

(c) Only A and E have the Czech note: Mily bože *etc. XII, 38, which is very characteristic, and perhaps decisive of the question in hand.*

(d) Lastly, only A and E have the equally characteristic lacuna III, 17. — Ergo: the codices A and E are related to one another.

(2) A is the original of E, not vice versa, also the two codices cannot possibly have a common original. Proof: (a) In a large number of passages the scribe of A has written incorrectly, and then erased the wrong word (either by a line drawn through it, or dots below) and gone on correctly, cp.: consistit sanitas *I, 12;* clerus cesareus *II, 4;* quanto *IV, 20;* pravitate *V, 17* quod *V, 7; 8; 29; III, 22;* est *VI, 13;* peccat *VII, 24;* ewangelic

[1] *From which hand the glosses:* Roma est locus *etc. VII, 22;* Protest doctoris *VII, 29 and* Pes primus *etc. X, 14 originate, is not quite certain, proba from A^3.*

[2] *There are wanting only* Cyprianus *etc. VI, 20;* nadir *IV, 33, which surely, either a very late gloss, or an emendation, and* Papa edific. *XII, 16.*

VII, 26 etc. (best to be compared in the codex itself); E, on the other hand, in spite of its own carelessness, gives the right word at once in these passages. — (b) The truth of our proposition is evident from the passage: petro in apostolatu *VI, 14; for this state of things hardly admits of any other explanation, than that A was lying before E, and that the latter misled by* petro *got into the wrong line. On the other hand, A could not copy from E, because E had not the complete text, not even (which would seriously affect our conclusion), in an emendation in margin. Neither can it be objected that the completion may be A's conjecture, for this objection is rendered futile by the fact that B, C and D give the sentence in the same words,*[1] *and that it is a quotation from the Vulgate (Gal. II). For these reasons I conclude, that E is derived from A. Moreover, E copied from A, as Karl Müller in his penetrating and valuable review of my edition in Sybels Histor. Zeitschrift 1881, p. 75 ff., remarks, after the original had undergone a revision by* A^1. A^1 *gives, strictly speaking, no corrections, but rather emendations, conjectures etc., cp.* dividuntur *II, 12;* patet sec. *V, 8;* erat *VI, 30;* scit *X, 25; in this last case the emendation is justified practically, but in fact the reading of the best MSS. which by the preceding* nec — nec *is rendered intelligible to a certain extent, is against it. The only passage which militates against the foregoing conclusion:* nec *IV, 10, cannot, on account of the similarity of the paleographical forms of* nec *and* ut, *be considered of great weight. — E springs then from the already corrected A. For this reason, and also because the copyist of E is extremely careless and inaccurate (cp.* catolicos et sic est triplex *I, 6;* et *II, 11;* deistas *IV, 14;* de ita *IV, 15;* petro in apostolatu *VI, 14;* diceretur *VI, 22;* sed *V, 23;* potestas sophist *etc. VII, 3;* sume *XI, 16;* visibile *XI, 30;* undiquam *XI, 46;* que sunt *XIII, 9;* dominum *XIII, 13;* vovit *XIV, 19;* vicarios *XV, 5;* terrenendo *XV, 6;* quocunque *XV, 19;* fiunt *XV, 26;* dei *XV, 41;* debere *XV, 42 [to be compared in the cod. itself]; add to these the less serious slips:* locum *VII, 20;* est *IX, 18;* quando *IX, 22;* sit *IX, 25;* dyabolus cond. *X, 42;* et mitit. *XI, 33;* videtur *XI, 44;* sit *XII, 35 and many more) I have never given in*

[1] *C has only the reading* petrus *for* petro *(probably a slip of the pen).*

the apparatus criticus the readings of E, where they agree w and of those which differ from A, only the principal, so far a seemed of importance in helping the reader to form an opinion the value of the codex. But in proportion to the worthlessness itself, is the value of its Corrector, E^1, who corrects E's text nc conscientiously, but also from a good copy. The emendation taken from A itself, (cp. consistit sanitas *I, 12;* fideli *III, 5;* to *III, 6;* quod *III, 22;* racionis *IV, 28;* patenter *VI, 34;* fuisse V infundabiliter *XIV, 40 and many more), although this would nc been an impossibility per se. — Karl Müller*[1] *considers E^1 t corrected from B, because the former 'out of 30 variations (the in fact 33) coincides 27 times with B, even in variations of re That this hypothesis is untenable, seems to me to be clearly sho two of the very readings given above, namely by* patens *VI, 34;* liter *III, 6; and further by* coex. *IV, 8;* patet *XI, 22, where th rection given by E^1 is not found in B at all. The reading* Joh *14, which under other circumstances might perhaps also be u evidence against B, is of no importance, because additions of thi may be made at pleasure. I am more inclined, after another c comparison, to place E^1 in dependence on the group C—D; cases out of 33, E coincides with C—D* (patens, totaliter *are gi C—D), the only exceptions are* peccav. *VII, 23;* domino *XI, 3,* modo *XI, 28;* undiquamque *XI, 46, which do not greatly aff question, then* coex. *IV, 8, and especially* patet *XI, 22. E^1 alo this last, contrary to the common (and false) consensus of all th MSS.; E^1's original then is perhaps to be found in the archet C—D, which had* patet *(and* coex.*). In any case, neither* pater totaliter *can be explained on the theory of his dependence on I give the corrections of E^1 below in the lectio varia, as his o appears to have been none of the codd. here used. E^2, E^3 and i three other hands, they give no varying readings, but only marginal*

II. The class C—D. Before I proceed to consider the qu in what relation the two MSS. stand to one another, I will d them separately in their individual peculiarities.

[1] In his letter to me, in which the arguments of his short review in t Zeitschrift are more fully stated.

1. *The single Codices.*

(A) Codex C. — (a) The text of C has been submitted to two *rrectors, C^1 and C^2. Wherever the reading seemed uncertain, C left* *space free for later insertion, copied therefore with forethought and* *nsideration, and is thus comparatively valuable: in these blanks IV, 5;* *I, 26; IX, 27; XII, 8 C^1 has supplied what was missing, in a* *m hand, and after a good copy: to the thin flourishing hand, C^2* *ng three or four insignificant marginal notes. C^3 is an indepen-* *t glosser. — (b) The Marginalia: C has the following mar-* *al notes:* 4^{or} secte *II, 3 (C);* Quid est clerus cesarius Quid nachi, Canonici Fratres *II, 1 (C^3 — witten above col. 125^a in the* *er margin);* Supposicio *II, 19;* Silvester penituit *VII, 16 (C^3—* *blotted out above col. 128^a);* Protestacio magistri *VII, 29 (C);* let suam iurisdiccionem *XIV, 6 (C — this is not a gloss, but simply* *tchword of the copyist for the beginning of the new folium 133^a).*[1]

(B) Codex D. — (a) D is far less valuable than C. That its tran- *iption was inaccurate and thoughtless is evident from a great num-* *of varying readings; I will only instance a few:* veritas *I, 24;* rus ces. *II, 4;* sentencie *II, 18;* puro *III, 16;* enim iungeret *V, 30;* et *VI, 26;* relucebat *(om.) VI, 32 and many more. — (b) The* *rginalia: a number of marginal glosses, all differing from the* *sses of C, are peculiar to D. It is remarkable that they only be-* *in with the theological part (from cap. V onward).*

(2) C—D are of the same family. That the two are closely *ted may be clearly proved: but the material before me does not* *fice to determine the question of their having sprung from one* *ther, as in the case of A—E. I imagine that both codd. have* *ng from the same (unknown[2]) source. In proof of the near re-* *nship of the two codd., I would appeal in the first place to the* *ous and consistent consensus of the variants of C—D, when*

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[1] *In this place, I would remark once for all, that I do not introduce the* *inal numbers, letters, hands, fingers, NB. NB. and other signs in my critical* *f readings, because they do not appear to me to contribute further to the cha-* *ristic of the different MSS. but rather to render the survey more difficult.*

[2] *At any rate, neither A, B, nor δ is the original.*

compared with the three, or wilth the four other MSS. In this connexion, nothing speaks so strongly for the two belonging to the same family, as the position, otherwise of no consequence, of words in a sentence; here C—D constantly depart from the consensus of the other texts,[1] *cp.:* ecclesia triumphans finaliter in ipso unietur *cp. p. 655 l. 18;* ecclesia militante *p. 656, 1; but* militans ecclesia *681, 12;* sunt multipliciter *656, 15;* arguitur sic *658, 20;* corpus unum *658, 21;* ecclesia secundum quamlibet sui partem est consimilis *662, 13;* de primatu apostolorum aput modernos est dissensio *663,5;* quod est creditum michi *666, 21;* vocavit vere *and* sibi nichil *669, 18; 19;* ista tota *673, 9;* habet per hoc medium desideratum *673, 25;* vicarius Cristi *674, 8;* doctrina et vita *680, 3;* cruciari propterea ut *683, 1;* propria persona *683, 11;* posset in hoc magis esse contrarius domino Iesu Cristo *684, 15;* cum sit idem *686, 22;* sibi sonare *688, 17;* posset maior esse *690, 13. — (b) Added to this consistent agreement in order of the words, we have a great number of readings in which likewise C—D consistently agree, while their sense differs from that of the other MSS.; of these, the following are of importance for our question:* totaliter *III, 6;* substancie *(om.) III, 9;* qualitativa-quantitativa *IV, 4;* sunt hec fundata *IV, 11;* consequens est falsum *IV, 13;* cuilibet *V, 5;* credidit *VII, 30;* vixit *VIII, 6;* nec eciam ecclesia conversans *X, 24;* in sua voluntate *X, 44;* in terris *X, 46;* exposicio *XII, 19;* iste *XII, 33;* discipulorum suorum *XIV, 43 and many more. — (c) But the clearest proof of the near relationship of the two MSS. is afforded by the following readings:* deus d. ecclesiam *(sic) I, 17; for* d. *as an abbreviation of* doceret *is of very rare occurrence, and is not in accordance with the general usage, whilst, of course, the abbreviation* q. d. *for* quasi diceret *is very frequent;* qui episcopus *and* qui erat *(ud.)* episcopus C *VI, 30;* si fuit pe. excellencia *(sic) VI, 42;* pe. *for* Petri *is also at least remarkable, as it is in this way found nowhere else throughout the entire Tract; lastly, the evidence of* pseudo sui discipuli *XV, 15 is overpowering, and seems to me quite decisive of the question in hand. –*

[1] *In my list of readings given below I have drawn attention to the different order of the words only in significant cases.*

These *four readings of C and D are so remarkable, that a dependence of C on D, or of D on C, might be maintained on the strength of them, were it not for the number and importance of the many differing readings which render such a theory impossible. But however important this consensus of C and D may appear, it would be explained by the two codd. having a common original, or two different ones belonging to the same family. The following small selection of readings are specimens of the variations of both mentioned above: I, 6; 9; 19; 26; 27; 33; 34; II, 6; 18; 20; 22; 25; 27 and so on in the following capp. — Conclusion: C—D both belong to the same family, which is distinct from the class A—E, but are not in immediate dependence one on the other.*

(III) Cod. B. Apart from the two groups described under (I) and (II), B takes its own way, now in harmony, now in disagreement with the one or the other, now with readings peculiar to itself.[1] *(1) B in agreement with group A—E:* ipsius *I, 10;* spiritale *I, 15;* ecclesiarum *I, 20;* exemplatur *I, 22;* dicit *I, 23;* ista *II, 32;* substancie *III, 9;* quantitativa-qualitativa *IV, 4;* sit fundata *IV, 11;* est *(om.) IV, 20;* deitati *IV, 21;* angeli *IV, 32;* est *IV, 25 and 27 etc., to which more might easily be added from a comparison of the readings. (2) B in agreement with group C—D:* iuvare *I, 8;* corporis consistit sanitas *I, 12;* finaliter *I, 16;* nec *I, 21;* domini *II, 8;* dividunt *II, 12;* instinctu *II, 13;* circa *II, 15;* fideli *III, 5;* omnes cum *etc. III, 17;* nec *IV, 10;* illum sensum *V, 4;* ponens *V, 9;* alicuius istorum *V, 13;* quemcunque *V, 20;* multis quod ex *etc. V, 29;* sic *VI, 4;* necessario *VI, 10;* fuisse *VI, 43 etc. which like the above might easily be multiplied. (3) B's independent readings: (a) lectio vera:* quomodo *IV, 5;* secundum *IX, 13;* adversantur *X, 47;* declaret *XIV, 13 (cp. δ);* fugiat *XV, 33. (b) lectio falsa:* et *(om.) I, 18;* regulam *I, 25;* observacionibus *II, 9;* laboret *II, 16;* primo *(om.) II, 23;* quatuor *(om.) II, 26;* secta *(om.) II, 30;* illis *II, 31 and many more, omitted here for want*

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[1] *The orthography* consiiderare, desiiderare, hiistoriacam *etc. is peculiar to B.*

of space.[1] *Thus B does not appear to be a very valuable codex Neither does its corrector* B^1 *contribute anything of importance; in 17 cases out of 19 it agrees with A and C—D, and must therefore have been guided either by one of these three MSS. or by an original older than the three. The numbers just given would even seem to show the inferiority of B to C—D. But this badness appears in a somewhat different light, and its superiority to this group will be evident, so soon as passing over its lectio vera where it is independent, we take account of the latter, wherever it belongs at the same time to one or the other of the codd. and then proceed to compare it with that of C—D. Amongst about 420 crucial readings, D has 109, C 224, and B 206 correctiones. If, besides these numbers, I consider the intrinsic value of the readings, I should be inclined to place cod. B at least before cod. D; cod. C, I believe, is superior to B.*

IV. Cod. δ. — The small compass of the accessible parallel text prevents our taking an estimate of the codex which may be in any degree certain. I must confine myself to general statements. On the whole the copyist has not done his work badly; of about 120 of the readings in question, δ has 84 belonging to the lectio vera, 30 to the lectio falsa; in no case does it offer the correct reading against the consensus of the 5 others.[2] *There are but few faults of oversight. I incline to the opinion, that it does not belong to the family A—E, especially as it does not contain the ejaculation in Czech XII, 38, which would not have escaped the Bohemian copyist. Whether it is related to C—D, or to B, I do not venture to decide, owing to want of the requisite data.*[3]

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[1] *I have counted the number of the agreements and disagreements: B accompanies group A—E about 80 times, group C—D about 60 times; 5 independent readings belong to the lectio vera (or 6, see above under 3. a.), 64 to the lectio falsa. These last, as a close comparison will show, are generally due to carelessness in the copyist (for the most part slips of the pen).*

[2] *On the contrary in about 45 places, it gives the incorrect reading, against the consensus of the 5 others: XI, 23; 27; 31; 32; 37; 38; 39; 42; XII, 4; 12; 13; 15; 22; 24; 25; 27; 28; 32; XIII, 4; 8; 20; 21; 24; 25; 27; 31; 37; 38; XIV, 3; 5; 12; 14; 31; 34; XV, 4; 12; 13; 15; 16; 17; 24; 35; 36; 38; 43.*

[3] *To decide this question by reference to the number of correspondences with, or departures from the other MSS., is a very uncertain method, and only of rele-*

B. ***The best Codex.*** *Lechler, in his review of my edition De Christo etc.,*[1] *and K. Müller in the critique already mentioned, cide for B as the most valuable cod., and as being therefore best sited for forming the base of the text.*

Lechler still has at hand some extracts from cod. 3933 from his former labours on Wiclif so that he was in a position to examine more closely some of my readings. I am grateful to him for calling my attention to instruencium *I, 11 (he mentions also* uter *for* utrum *p. 684 l. 2), to which he appeals in proof of the goodness of B. During my Christmas holidays in 1881, I once more examined the codd., and I certainly found* instruentium *in B, but* instrumentum *in the others.* Instruentium *for* instruencium *is a departure from the orthography obtaining throughout the entire Codex, which strikes me as very remarkable, and which betrayed me into my first reading.. At the same time, however willing I may be to suppose, that the* t *may be owing to B's original, which may have had* instrumentum, *it is* instruentium *which is here, and I must consider this reading, not only as justified, but as preferable to the reading* instrumentum. — *But the case is different with* uter, *which L. has misread: the text has* utrum. *This gives quite a good meaning, since the indirect question is to be applied to the Pope as such, against whom the whole treatise is directed.*

The readings brought forward by Müller to establish the superiority of B over the other MSS. likewise appear to me inconclusive.[2] *He mentions 3 readings as showing the superiority of B:* finaliter *I, 16;* habilitate *VII, 6 and* supponitur *X, 34. Willing as one may be to admit the betterness of, at least, the two first readings, they do not prove anything for the value of B beyond what they prove also for C*

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tive value. Of all the 240 passages, δ has about 110 readings in common with class A—E, with B 102, with C 98 and with D 91.

[1] *Cp. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 1880 No. 11.*

[2] *Unfortunately Müller's very careful review appeared in print in a greatly shortened form, which does not in the least show whether there is any foundation for his objection to my application of the MSS. In a letter to me, Prof. Müller has kindly supplied the deficiencies of the print.*

and D; indeed after this fashion, a great many more readings be produced in favour of B.[1]

I have submitted the readings to a close reexamination taken advantage of the hints afforded me by the critical reviews I have received of my edition, and setting aside incorrect re for inst. mere slips of the pen like muper *for* nuper *etc., arrived at the following result, which in the main agrees w first one.*

Against the superiority of B over A and C, of which alon is any question, I have to bring forward the following: (1) *II, 16;* primo *II, 23;* qua. *(om.) II, 26;* secta *II, 30;* illis sophistice *III, 1;* pos. *III, 7;* sit *III, 8;* omnia *III, 18;* omn *19;* const. *IV, 6;* pot. *etc. IV, 16;* illab. *V, 7;* philoc. *V, 1 (om.) VI, 2;* propos. *VI, 7;* 20⁰ *VII, 2;* aliqualiter *VII, (om.) VII, 9;* ex *VII, 14;* ewang. *VII, 15;* longe *VIII, 13 (om.) VIII, 26:* fid. *VIII, 30;* 2cim *IX, 5;* modi *(om.) IX, IX, 30;* scil. *X, 31;* ven. *XI, 9;* summe *XI, 12;* ex m *XIII, 2;* anticr. *(om.) XII, 18;* auf. *XII, 20;* subd. *XII, 35; XIII, 3;* 20 *XIII, 7;* quom. *XIII, 33;* digni *(om.) XIII, 34 (om.) XIV, 24;* sit *XV, 2;* non sc. *XV, 10;* ante *XV, XV, 30, all of them passages in which B alone has a wron ing, against the consensus of all the other MSS., and moreo only errors of the pen, but inaccuracies of copying, omission construction etc. — (2) Still more significant appear to me the ingless readings:* regulam *I, 25;* observacionibus *II, 9;* cu *V, 5;* finitas *V, 11;* Simone *VI, 31;* finis *XIV, 29:* dicente *32;* opinio. *XV, 9;* locacion. *XV, 8 and esp.* iniungeret *lastly two altogether corrupt passages of some length, cp. cap. 5; 6; 7; 11 etc. and X from* sic; *cp. 5; 6; 7; 9; 12 etc.*

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[1] *i. e. in the very frequent cases where class A—E gives a wrong As to Müller's other objections,* es *for* ex, quodsi *for* quod si, hodlie *f* minis *for* nimis, cunt *for* sunt *are of course misprints (likewise Lechler's version* fulsos *for* falsos); *but* date *is not a mistake for* dicte, *all the c it; so likewise* ut sic *p. 680 l. 3 is not to be corrected into* sicut, *cp. diately following* ut sic *p. 680 l. 11. The phrase often occurs in W.*

Of course, a number of such corrupt readings are also to be found in A and C, but with few exceptions they result here from slighter mistakes, and are not so numerous. I have counted the lectio vera and falsa in all the MSS. In 298 passages the codd. are in decided disagreement; of these, B gives the wrong reading 92 times, C 74 times, A 71 times (D 109 times, E 96 times). Lastly, I must again point out, that B alone has a false reading no less than 60 times, against he consensus of the rest; in this respect it is inferior to cod. D, which s otherwise of little value (57 false readings), whilst C has only 21, 1 only 10 corruptions of the kind. This is a number, affording owerful enough proof of the negligence and untrustworthiness of B.[1]

If, in this respect, I have not seen my way to follow the proosals of my reviewers, my renewed critical investigations combined rith the objections raised in the reviews mentioned above against my ppreciation of the MSS., have at least shaken me somewhat in my opinion f the superiority of A over C. After having completed the critical examination of the remaining 25 Tracts printed in this volume, I brought) the renewed study of the one before us, a prejudice greatly in faour of C, which I must hold to be justified, since I am led to the elief that 13 of the Tracts in question are to be based upon C. Nevertheless I am inclined to maintain A's candidature even against ', because (1) out of the 298 crucial passages A gives 227 times, nd C only 224 times, the right reading; but especially because (2) A, s pointed out above, is alone in giving a wrong reading against the onsensus of the rest only 10 times, against the 22 times of C. And astly, as to the intrinsic value of C's readings, the following as comared with the corrupt readings of A, seem to me greatly to impair e worth of C: duplex I, 6; exempl. I, 22; si VIII, 23; humil. I, 10; seductas XI, 35; also the entire cap. X and XII (which). As moreover A^1 has materially improved by his emendations e original copy of the first scribe, which cannot be said of C^1 in spect to C, I give the palm to A. At the same time, I must not it to mention emungeret V, 30 in favour of C.

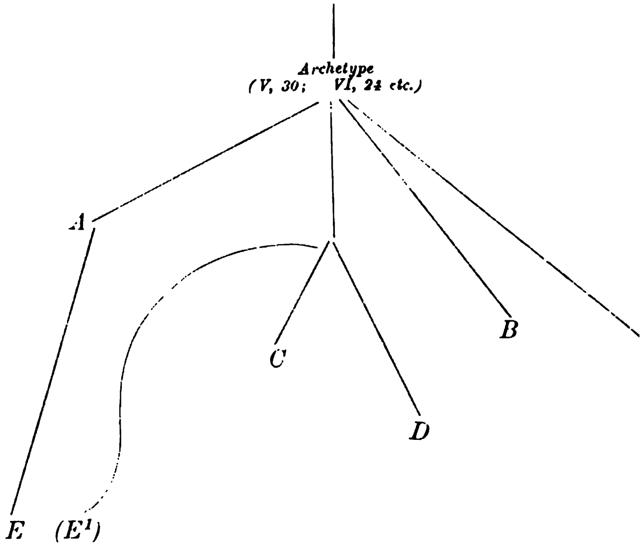
In conclusion, that all the MSS. here made use of, point to a

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[1] Cp. with ref. to this De nova Praev. Mand. p. 115.

common archetype, seems to me quite evident from the passag tur mult. quod *V, 30;* Iudeus cum sis *VI, 24;* populo *VI* onerose *XV, 39.*

The following diagram shows the relation of the MSS. ac to the foregoing examination:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE CRISTO ET SUO[1] ADVERSARIO[2] ANTICRISTO.[3]

Explicit Cruciata venerabilis et ewangelici doctoris Magistri Johannis Wyklef.[4]

CAP. I.

[5] Secundum catholicos ecclesia est predestina torum universitas. ‖ *A fol. 239d lin. 14* Et sic est triplex[6] ecclesia,[7] | scilicet ecclesia triumphancium in celo, ecclesia mi | litancium hic in mundo et ecclesia dormiencium in purgatorio.[a]

CAP. I. [a] *Cp. the same division and definition, Arnold, S. E. W. III, 339: Christis Chirche in his Spouse that hath three partis; the first part is in blis etc. and Three Tract. by J. de Wycliffe ed. Dr. Todd (Dublin 1851) cap. 1 p. III: The first part in clepid overcoming. The myddil is clepid slepyng. The thridde is clepid fightyng. Vgl. Trial. IV, 22, 325; also Daniel, Thesaurus hymn. V, 106*

CAP. I. [1] suo *ABD in the Expl., E in the Inc.* ous *(i. e.* suo) *C in the Expl.* eius *B in the Inc.* [2] adversario *AD in the Expl., BE in the Inc. and Expl.* adsairouer *(i. e.* adversario) *C in the Expl.* [3] anticristo *AB in the Expl. E in the Inc. and Expl. om. C,D in the Expl. and B in the Inc.* [4] Expl. . . . Iohannis Wyklef *A* Explicit Cruciata ewangelici doctoris Incipit eiusdem de Cristo et eius adversario cap. primum *B without this Expl. C, because the scribe of the preceding Tract* De ordine cristian. *did not fill up the last column 124a there are wanting about 17 lines* Explicit liber Ambrosii de moribus ecclesie etc. *D, nearly at the end of fol. 230c* Explicit De nova prevaricancia mandatorum Incipit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario anticristo *E* [5] *B fol. 70a lin. 43 C fol. 124b lin. 1 D fol. 230d lin. 1 E fol. 125a lin. 37* [6] triplex *AD* duplex *BC* [7] *in A is add. in mar.:* Ecclesia *A1*

Ecclesia autem militancium ex approbacione Cristi expressa vel tacita dicitur communiter tripartita, scilicet ecclesia clericorum, qui debent esse propinquissimi ecclesie triumphanti et iuvare[8] residuum ecclesie militantis, ut sequatur[9] Cristum propinquius, qui est caput tocius ecclesie, ut patet Eph. primo[b]: ipsum, inquit Paulus, dedit caput super omnem ecclesiam, que est corpus ipsius.[10] Secunda pars militantis ecclesie dicitur esse militum ita, quod, sicut prima pars istius ecclesie dicitur instruencium[11] oratorum, ita secunda pars ecclesie dicitur corporalium defensorum. Tercia vero pars ecclesie dicitur wlgarium vel laboratorum. Et in armonia ista trium parcium ad imitacionem trinitatis increate consistit sanitas corporis istius[12] ecclesie militantis.

Debet autem in ista ecclesia et qualibet sui parte esse pax et unitas,[13] cum omnes partes et singule[14] debent mutuo se iuvare, cum locorum distancia non impedit adiutorium spirituale.[15] Et sic ista ecclesia militans debet ad instar triumphantis ecclesie et finaliter[16] ad similitudinem trinitatis appetere unitatem.

Et istam doctrinam eliciunt quidam ad sensum misticum ex verbo domini dicto Moysi Exodi vicesimo quinto[c]: omnia fac, sicut
|| A fol. 210[a] tibi in monte monstratum est, || ac si mistice deus doceret ecclesiam[17] militantem, quod imitetur secundum noticiam suam et[18] graciam[19] in disposicionibus ecclesiam[20] triumphantem, quia certum est, quod ipsa errare non poterit, ut[21] exemplatur[22] inferius,[d] de quanto

[b] *v. 22—23* [c] *v. 40: Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est; the quotation is not accurate, κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cp. Acts 7, 44; Hebr. 8, 5* [d] *cp. cap. X*

[8] iuvare *CD* iuvans *A* uuuare *B* [9] sequatur *ABC* sequitur *D* [10] ipsius *AB* Cristi ipsius *CD* [11] instruentium *B* instrumentum *ACD* [12] cons. san. corp. consistit sanitas *(these two last words cr. out)* istius *A* cons. san. corpori sconsistit sanitas istius *BCD* cons. san. corp. istius *E, but there is add. in mar. with ref. to* corp.: Consistit sanitas istius *E*[1] [13] *in A is add. in mar.:* Unitas ecclesie bene notatur *A*[2] [14] et singule *ACD* singule *B* [15] spirituale *CD* spiritale *AB* [16] finaliter *BCD* specialiter *A* [17] deus doceret ecclesiam *AB* deus d. ecclesiam *(sic) CD, therefore* diceret *according to the palaeographical rules, cp. below cap. II note 18* [18] et *ACD* *om. B* [19] graciam *ABD* gracia *C* [20] ecclesiam *CD* ecclesiarum *AB* [21] ut *A* nec *BCD* [22] exemplatur *AB* exemplatum *CD*

exemplar istud debite imitatur. Istam autem unitatem videtur docere apostolus Eph. quarto,[e] cum sic dicit:[23] unus dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus deus et pater omnium.

Ista autem quadruplex unitas[24] doceret militantem ecclesiam servare ex dei gracia unitatem. Recoleremus itaque,[25] quomodo dominus[26] Iesus Cristus, qui est rex regum et caput tocius ecclesie, appetit unitatem. Secundo recoleremus, quomodo fidei uniformitas facit in[27] membris militantis ecclesie unitatem. Unde gentiles principes, licet in errore fidei perseverent, nituntur reducere suas provincias ad fidei unitatem, ut patet de Antiocho illustri[28] primo Macc.[29] primo,[f] ymo de Alexandro magno, qui primus[30] regnavit in Grecia, dicitur, quod fecit totam legem dei interpretari sibi a lingwa[31] hebrea in grecam; et per hoc ex dei gracia monarchiam generalius conquisivit.[32]

Tercium signum, ad unitatem excitans, est unitas baptismalis.[33] Debemus enim ex fide supponere, quod spiritualis baptizacio est influencia viantis[34] ex gracia summi dei. Et istud recolens[g] et unitatem increatam in deo quarto considerans et quomodo triumphans ecclesia in ipso finaliter unietur, appeteret naturaliter unitatem.

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[e] v. 5—6 [f] v. 43—45: *Et scripsit rex Antiochus omni regno suo, ut esset omnis populus unus; et relinqueret unusquisque legem suam. Et consenserunt omnes gentes secundum verbum regis Antiochi; et multi ex Israel consenserunt servituti eius et sacrificaverunt idolis et coinquinaverunt sabbatum* [g] *this substantivation of the participle frequently occurs in W.'s writings, cp. for instance cap. VII:* sic dicens concurrentibus *cap. III,* negans *cap. X; Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. 100:* contra tenentem opinionem

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[23] dicit *AB* dicat *CD* [24] unitas *ABC* veritas *D* [25] itaque *CDE,A¹ in mar.* igitur *A* regulam *B* [26] dominus *ABC* deus *D* [27] in *ABD om. C* [28] *in E is add. above the col.:* Fidei unitas procurabatur eciam a gentilibus principibus *E²* [29] Mach *ABCD* Mt *E* Macha *E¹ in mar.* [30] primus *ABCD om. E* [31] dei int. si. a ling. *A* dei si. int. a ling. *CD* dei sibi a lingwa *B, but in mar. with mark of ref. to* dei *is add.* interpretari *B¹* [32] *in E is add. in mar.:* Alexander unde monarcha *E²* [33] baptismalis *ABD* baptizabilis *C* [34] viantis *ABC* unitatis *D*

CAP. II.[1]

Ex istis quidam fideles eliciunt, quod debet in militante ecclesia esse unica secta domini Iesu Cristi,[2] et per consequens quatuor secte, post sectam Cristi per dyabolum introducte, debent cessare gracia unitatis ecclesie militantis.

Sunt autem iste secte quatuor,[3] ut sepe[a] dictum est, clerus cesareus, monachi,[4] canonici atque fratres.

Clerus cesareus est multitudo sacerdotum,[5] qui temporali dominio sunt dotati, cuius patronus instabilis dicitur esse papa et regula lex papalis. Secunda secta dicitur esse monachi bipertiti, cuius patronus dicitur esse Benedictus, et regula, quam ex eius sentencia beatus Gregorius compilavit. Tercia secta dicuntur[6] canonici, cuius patronus fingitur Augustinus. Et dicitur, quod sacer-
A fol. 240b dotibus sibi sociis dedit regulam[7] || facilem cum lege dei[8] concordantem. Quarta secta et ultima dicuntur[6] fratres, qui in ritibus et aliis observanciis[9] multipliciter sunt divisi,[10] sicut et triplex secta possessionatorum in[11] albos *(et)* nigros viros et feminas, quas sancti-moniales dicimus, dividuntur.[12]

Et talis divisio instinctu[13] dyaboli indubitanter in militantem ecclesiam subintravit, et sicut confundit unitatem secte domini Iesu Cristi, sic confundit religiositatem ordinis cristiani.[14] Ideo, ut sepe

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CAP. II. [a] *Cp. for instance De quattuor Sectis novellis above p. 21*

CAP. II. [1] *In C a new column begins, above it:* Quid est clerus cesareus, quid monachi, canonici fratres C^3 [2] *in A is add. in mar:* Secta unica esse debet A^1 [3] *in A is add. in mar.:* Quatuor secte A^1 *in C in mar.:* Quattuor secte *C* [4] cesareus monachi *etc. ABCD* cesareus est multitudo sacerdotum *etc.* *the scribe got into the wrong line, led astray by* clerus cesareus *likewise E, but here the missing words are supplied in a note below the col.* [5] *in B is add. in mar.:* Clerus cesareus quid sit B^1 *in D is add. in mar.:* Prima clerus cesareus D^4 [6] dicuntur *ABD* dicitur *C* [7] *in A below the col. 240a:* Quatuor secte A^1 [8] dei *A* domini *BCD* [9] observanciis *ACD*,B^1 *in mar.* observacionibus *B* [10] mu. s. di. *AB* s. mu. di. *CD* [11] in *ABCD* et *E* [12] dividunt *BCD, also A, but* ur *is add. by* A^1 *with red ink* dividuntur *E* [illegible] instinctu *BCD* in fructu *A,E* fructu *ud., above it* stinctu E^1 [14] *in E is add. above the col.:* Divisio sectarum confundit unitatem et religionem E^2

tur, circa[15] unitatem secte domini tota militans ecclesia laborat,[16] ı Alexander Macedo, princeps ethnicus, circa hoc laudabiliter ɔravit.

Unde secte iste, verecundantes suam divisionem a secta domi, dicunt, quod non sunt alie a secta domini Iesu Cristi, quia c indubie non forent nisi equivoce cristiani.[17] Sed suppono illis e[18] contencione,[19] ut dictum est alibi, quod unitas secte requirit tatem regule et patroni,[b] et cum iste secte quatuor tam in pano quam regula[20] variantur a secta Cristi, evidens est, quod ꝫ secte sunt dispares, sicut sunt ordines ex confessione propria riati.

Nec valet dicere,[21] quod secta Cristi est genus, et habet sub species multiplices, quia ad unitatem individuam date secte fficit unitas[22] individua regule et patroni. Sed Cristus et lex angelica sunt individua, ergo tota secta Cristi, sicut et sua clesia, est ad unitatem individuam reducenda. Quando autem cta Cristi fuit primo[23] simplex individua, tunc crescebat;[24] sed xpost, cum false ficta fuerat esse genus, et partes specifice fuerunt[25] ine auctoritate Cristi vel eius licencia introducte, tunc decrevit.

Ymo constat logicis, quod individuum non potest crescere ad enus vel speciem; ideo non potest vere dici, quod iste secte quauor[26] sunt species contente sub genere secte Cristi. Ymo cum diersitas numeralis[27] recedit ab unitate et secta Cristi,[28] ut patet ex suis[29] principiis, sit optima secta[30] possibilis, manifestum videtur, uod sit irreligiosa stulticia, sic recedere ab individua secta Cristi.

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[b] *for instance, above De Fundat. Sect. p. 21*

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[15] circa *BCD* citra *A* [16] laborat *ACD* laboret *B* [17] *in E is add. below the col.:* Secte unde convincerentur a Cristo divise *E*² [18] sine *ABC* sentencie *D* [19] *in C is add. in mar.:* Supposicio *C*¹ [20] regula *ABD* in regula *C* [21] dicere *ABD* d. *(sic) C, cp. above cap. I note 17* [22] unitas *ABC* et unitas *D* [23] primo *ACD* *om. B* [24] *in E is add. above the col.:* Lex secte Cristi simplex et individua profecit *E*² [25] fuerunt *ABC* fuerant *D* [26] ist. se. quat. *ACD* ist. se. *B*, *but in mar.* quatuor *B*¹ [27] numeralis *ABD* naturalis *C* [28] Cristi *CD,A*¹ *corr. into the text* *om. AB* [29] suis *ABC* eius *DE* [30] secta *ACD,B*¹ *in mar.* *om. B*

of space.[1] *Thus B does not appear to be a very valuable c Neither does its corrector* B^1 *contribute anything of importance, 17 cases out of 19 it agrees with A and C—D, and must there have been guided either by one of these three MSS. or by an orig older than the three. The numbers just given would even seem to s the inferiority of B to C—D. But this badness appears in a somew different light, and its superiority to this group will be evident, so s as passing over its lectio vera where it is independent, we take acco of the latter, wherever it belongs at the same time to one or the o of the codd. and then proceed to compare it with that of C— Amongst about 420 crucial readings, D has 109, C 224, and B correctiones. If, besides these numbers, I consider the intrinsic va of the readings, I should be inclined to place cod. B at least bef cod. D; cod. C, I believe, is superior to B.*

IV. Cod. δ. — The small compass of the accessible part text prevents our taking an estimate of the codex which may be any degree certain. I must confine myself to general statements. the whole the copyist has not done his work badly; of about 120 the readings in question, δ has 84 belonging to the lectio vera, 30 the lectio falsa; in no case does it offer the correct reading aga the consensus of the 5 others.[2] *There are but few faults of oversi I incline to the opinion, that it does not belong to the family A— especially as it does not contain the ejaculation in Czech XII, which would not have escaped the Bohemian copyist. Whether it related to C—D, or to B, I do not venture to decide, owing to w of the requisite data.*[3]

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[1] *I have counted the number of the agreements and disagreements: B acc panies group A—E about 80 times, group C—D about 60 times; 5 independ readings belong to the lectio vera (or 6, see above under 3. a.), 64 to the le falsa. These last, as a close comparison will show, are generally due to care ness in the copyist (for the most part slips of the pen).*

[2] *On the contrary in about 45 places, it gives the incorrect reading, aga the consensus of the 5 others: XI, 23; 27; 31; 32; 37; 38; 39; 42; XII, 4; 13; 15; 22; 24; 25; 27; 28; 32; XIII, 4; 8; 20; 21; 24; 25; 27; 31; 37; XIV, 3; 5; 12; 14; 31; 34; XV, 4; 12; 13; 15; 16; 17; 24; 35; 36; 38;*

[3] *To decide this question by reference to the number of correspondences or departures from the other MSS., is a very uncertain method, and only of*

B. ***The best Codex.*** *Lechler, in his review of my edition of De Christo etc.,*[1] *and K. Müller in the critique already mentioned, decide for B as the most valuable cod., and as being therefore best suited for forming the base of the text.*

Lechler still has at hand some extracts from cod. 3933 from his former labours on Wiclif so that he was in a position to examine more closely some of my readings. I am grateful to him for calling my attention to instruencium *I, 11 (he mentions also* uter *for* utrum *p. 684 l. 2), to which he appeals in proof of the goodness of B. During my Christmas holidays in 1881, I once more examined the codd., and I certainly found* instruentium *in B, but* instrumentum *in the others.* Instruentium *for* instruencium *is a departure from the orthography obtaining throughout the entire Codex, which strikes me as very remarkable, and which betrayed me into my first reading.. At the same time, however willing I may be to suppose, that the* t *may be owing to B's original, which may have had* instrumentum, *it is* instruentium *which is here, and I must consider this reading, not only as justified, but as preferable to the reading* instrumentum. — *But the case is different with* uter, *which L. has misread: the text has* utrum. *This gives quite a good meaning, since the indirect question is to be applied to the Pope as such, against whom the whole treatise is directed.*

The readings brought forward by Müller to establish the superiority of B over the other MSS. likewise appear to me inconclusive.[2] *He mentions 3 readings as showing the superiority of B:* finaliter *I, 16;* habilitate *VII, 6 and* supponitur *X, 34. Willing as one may be to admit the betterness of, at least, the two first readings, they do not prove anything for the value of B beyond what they prove also for C*

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tive value. Of all the 240 passages, δ has about 110 readings in common with class A—E, with B 102, with C 98 and with D 91.

[1] *Cp. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 1880 No. 11.*

[2] *Unfortunately Müller's very careful review appeared in print in a greatly shortened form, which does not in the least show whether there is any foundation for his objection to my application of the MSS. In a letter to me, Prof. Müller has kindly supplied the deficiencies of the print.*

and D; indeed after this fashion, a great many more readings migh be produced in favour of B.[1]

I have submitted the readings to a close reexamination, hav taken advantage of the hints afforded me by the critical reviews whic I have received of my edition, and setting aside incorrect reading for inst. mere slips of the pen like muper *for* nuper *etc., I hav arrived at the following result, which in the main agrees with m first one.*

Against the superiority of B over A and C, of which alone the is any question, I have to bring forward the following: (1) labor *II, 16;* primo *II, 23;* qua. *(om.) II, 26;* secta *II, 30;* illis *II, 31* sophistice *III, 1;* pos. *III, 7;* sit *III, 8;* omnia *III, 18;* omnes *II 19;* const. *IV, 6;* pot. *etc. IV, 16;* illab. *V, 7;* philoc. *V, 16;* ap *(om.) VI, 2;* propos. *VI, 7;* 20^{0} *VII, 2;* aliqualiter *VII, 8;* tu *(om.) VII, 9;* ex *VII, 14;* ewang. *VII, 15;* longe *VIII, 13;* tot *(om.) VIII, 26:* fid. *VIII, 30;* 2^{cim} *IX, 5;* modi *(om.) IX, 17;* si *IX, 30;* scil. *X, 31;* ven. *XI, 9;* summe *XI, 12;* ex m. *(om. XIII, 2;* anticr. *(om.) XII, 18;* auf. *XII, 20;* subd. *XII, 35;* propt *XIII, 3;* 20 *XIII, 7;* quom. *XIII, 33;* digni *(om.) XIII, 34;* anti *(om.) XIV, 24;* sit *XV, 2;* non sc. *XV, 10;* ante *XV, 28;* si *XV, 30, all of them passages in which B alone has a wrong read ing, against the consensus of all the other MSS., and moreover no only errors of the pen, but inaccuracies of copying, omissions, mis construction etc. — (2) Still more significant appear to me the mean ingless readings:* regulam *I, 25;* observacionibus *II, 9;* cuiuslibe *V, 5;* finitas *V, 11;* Simone *VI, 31;* finis *XIV, 29;* dicente *XIV 32;* opinio. *XV, 9;* locacion. *XV, 8 and esp.* iniungeret *V, 30 lastly two altogether corrupt passages of some length, cp. cap. VI, 2 5; 6; 7; 11 etc. and X from* sic; *cp. 5; 6; 7; 9; 12 etc.*

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[1] *i. e. in the very frequent cases where class A—E gives a wrong readin As to Müller's other objections,* es *for* ex, quodsi *for* quod si, hodlie *for* hodi minis *for* nimis, cunt *for* sunt *are of course misprints (likewise Lechler's anima version* fulsos *for* falsos); *but* date *is not a mistake for* dicte, *all the codd. ha it; so likewise* ut sic *p. 680 l. 3 is not to be corrected into* sicut, *cp. the imm diately following* ut sic *p. 680 l. 11. The phrase often occurs in W.*

Of course, a number of such corrupt readings are also to be found in A and C, but with few exceptions they result here from slighter mistakes, and are not so numerous. I have counted the lectio vera and falsa in all the MSS. In 298 passages the codd. are in decided disagreement; of these, B gives the wrong reading 92 times, C 74 times, A 71 times (D 109 times, E 96 times). Lastly, I must again point out, that B alone has a false reading no less than 60 times, against the consensus of the rest; in this respect it is inferior to cod. D, which is otherwise of little value (57 false readings), whilst C has only 21, A only 10 corruptions of the kind. This is a number, affording powerful enough proof of the negligence and untrustworthiness of B.[1]

If, in this respect, I have not seen my way to follow the proposals of my reviewers, my renewed critical investigations combined with the objections raised in the reviews mentioned above against my appreciation of the MSS., have at least shaken me somewhat in my opinion of the superiority of A over C. After having completed the critical examination of the remaining 25 Tracts printed in this volume, I brought to the renewed study of the one before us, a prejudice greatly in favour of C, which I must hold to be justified, since I am led to the belief that 13 of the Tracts in question are to be based upon C. Nevertheless I am inclined to maintain A's candidature even against C, because (1) out of the 298 crucial passages A gives 227 times, and C only 224 times, the right reading; but especially because (2) A, as pointed out above, is alone in giving a wrong reading against the consensus of the rest only 10 times, against the 22 times of C. And lastly, as to the intrinsic value of C's readings, the following as compared with the corrupt readings of A, seem to me greatly to impair the worth of C: duplex *I, 6;* exempl. *I, 22;* si *VIII, 23;* humil. *XI, 10;* seductas *XI, 35; also the entire cap. X and XII (which cp.). As moreover A*[1] *has materially improved by his emendations the original copy of the first scribe, which cannot be said of C*[1] *in respect to C, I give the palm to A. At the same time, I must not omit to mention* emungeret *V, 30 in favour of C.*

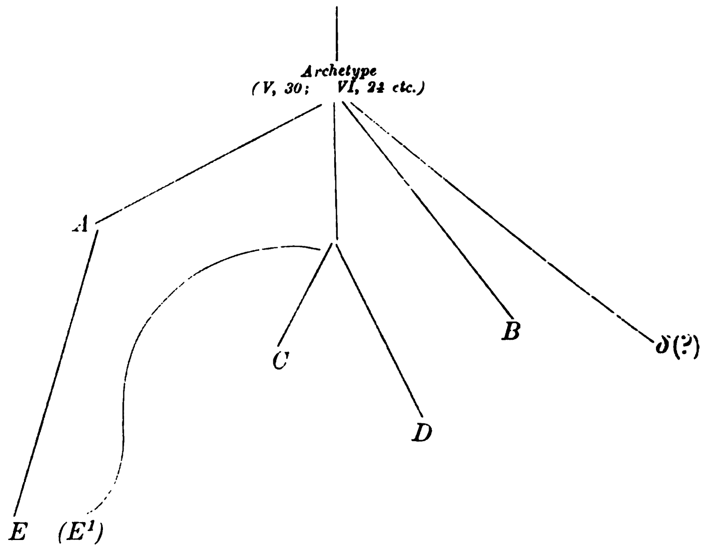
In conclusion, that all the MSS. here made use of, point to a

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[1] *Cp. with ref. to this De nova Praev. Mand. p. 115.*

common archetype, seems to me quite evident from the passages videtur mult. quod *V, 30;* Iudeus cum sis *VI, 24;* populo *VIII, 22;* onerose *XV, 39.*

The following diagram shows the relation of the MSS. according to the foregoing examination:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE CRISTO ET SUO[1] ADVERSARIO[2] ANTICRISTO.[3]

Explicit Cruciata venerabilis et ewangelici doctoris Magistri Johannis Wyklef.[4]

CAP. I.

‖[5] Secundum catholicos ecclesia est predestina|torum universitas. ‖ *A fol. 239[d] lin. 14*
Et sic est triplex[6] ecclesia,[7] | scilicet ecclesia triumphancium in celo, ecclesia mi|litancium hic in mundo et ecclesia dormiencium in purgatorio.[a]

CAP. I. [a] *Cp. the same division and definition, Arnold, S. E. W. III, 339: Christis Chirche in his Spouse that hath three partis; the first part is in blis etc. and Three Tract. by J. de Wycliffe ed. Dr. Todd (Dublin 1851) cap. 1 p. III: The first part in clepid overcoming. The myddil is clepid slepyng. The thridde is clepid fightyng. Vgl. Trial. IV, 22, 325; also Daniel, Thesaurus hymn. V, 106*

CAP. I. [1] suo *ABD in the Expl., E in the Inc.* ous *(i. e.* suo) *C in the Expl.* eius *B in the Inc.* [2] adversario *AD in the Expl., BE in the Inc. and Expl.* adsairouer *(i. e.* adversario) *C in the Expl.* [3] anticristo *AB in the Expl. E in the Inc. and Expl. om. C,D in the Expl. and B in the Inc.* [4] Expl. . . . Iohannis Wyklef *A* Explicit Cruciata ewangelici doctoris Incipit eiusdem de Cristo et eius adversario cap. primum *B without this Expl. C, because the scribe of the preceding Tract* De ordine cristian. *did not fill up the last column 124[a] there are wanting about 17 lines* Explicit liber Ambrosii de moribus ecclesie etc. *D, nearly at the end of fol. 230[c]* Explicit De nova prevaricancia mandatorum Incipit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario anticristo *E* [5] *B fol. 70[a] lin. 43 C fol. 124[b] lin. 1 D fol. 230[d] lin. 1 E fol. 125[a] lin. 37* [6] triplex *AD* duplex *BC* [7] *in A is add. in mar.:* Ecclesia *A[1]*

Ecclesia autem militancium ex approbacione Cristi expressa vel tacita dicitur communiter tripartita, scilicet ecclesia clericorum, qui debent esse propinquissimi ecclesie triumphanti et iuvare[8] residuum ecclesie militantis, ut sequatur[9] Cristum propinquius, qui est caput tocius ecclesie, ut patet Eph. primo[b]: ipsum, inquit Paulus, dedit caput super omnem ecclesiam, que est corpus ipsius.[10] Secunda pars militantis ecclesie dicitur esse militum ita, quod, sicut prima pars istius ecclesie dicitur instruencium[11] oratorum, ita secunda pars ecclesie dicitur corporalium defensorum. Tercia vero pars ecclesie dicitur wlgarium vel laboratorum. Et in armonia ista trium parcium ad imitacionem trinitatis increate consistit sanitas corporis istius[12] ecclesie militantis.

Debet autem in ista ecclesia et qualibet sui parte esse pax et unitas,[13] cum omnes partes et singule[14] debent mutuo se iuvare, cum locorum distancia non impedit adiutorium spirituale.[15] Et sic ista ecclesia militans debet ad instar triumphantis ecclesie et finaliter[16] ad similitudinem trinitatis appetere unitatem.

Et istam doctrinam eliciunt quidam ad sensum misticum ex verbo domini dicto Moysi Exodi vicesimo quinto[c]: omnia fac, sicut tibi in monte monstratum est, || ac si mistice deus doceret ecclesiam[17] militantem, quod imitetur secundum noticiam suam et[18] graciam[19] in disposicionibus ecclesiam[20] triumphantem, quia certum est, quod ipsa errare non poterit, ut[21] exemplatur[22] inferius,[d] de quanto

|| A fol. 240a

[b] v. 22—23 [c] v. 40: *Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est; the quotation is not accurate, κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cp. Acts 7, 44; Hebr. 8, 5* [d] *cp. cap. X*

[8] iuvare *CD* invans *A* uuuare *B* [9] sequatur *ABC* sequitur *D* [10] ipsius *AB* Cristi ipsius *CD* [11] instruentium *B* instrumentum *ACD* [12] cons. san. corp. consistit sanitas *(these two last words cr. out)* istius *A* cons. san. corpori sconsistit sanitas istius *BCD* cons. san. corp. istius *E, but there is add. in mar. with ref. to* corp.: Consistit sanitas istius *E*[1] [13] *in A is add. in mar.:* Unitas ecclesie bene notatur *A*[2] [14] et singule *ACD* singule *B* [15] spirituale *CD* spiritale *AB* [16] finaliter *BCD* specialiter *A* [17] deus doceret ecclesiam *AB* deus d. ecclesiam *(sic) CD, therefore* diceret *according to the palaeographical rules, cp. below cap. II note 18* [18] et *ACD om. B* [19] graciam *ABD* gracia *C* [20] ecclesiam *CD* ecclesiarum *AB* [21] ut *A* nec *BCD* [22] exemplatur *AB* exemplatum *CD*

exemplar istud debite imitatur. Istam autem unitatem videtur docere apostolus Eph. quarto,[e] cum sic dicit:[23] unus dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus deus et pater omnium.

Ista autem quadruplex unitas[24] doceret militantem ecclesiam servare ex dei gracia unitatem. Recoleremus itaque,[25] quomodo dominus[26] Iesus Cristus, qui est rex regum et caput tocius ecclesie, appetit unitatem. Secundo recoleremus, quomodo fidei uniformitas facit in[27] membris militantis ecclesie unitatem. Unde gentiles principes, licet in errore fidei perseverent, nituntur reducere suas provincias ad fidei unitatem, ut patet de Antiocho illustri[28] primo Macc.[29] primo,[f] ymo de Alexandro magno, qui primus[30] regnavit in Grecia, dicitur, quod fecit totam legem dei interpretari sibi a lingwa[31] hebrea in grecam; et per hoc ex dei gracia monarchiam generalius conquisivit.[32]

Tercium signum, ad unitatem excitans, est unitas baptismalis.[33] Debemus enim ex fide supponere, quod spiritualis baptizacio est influencia viantis[34] ex gracia summi dei. Et istud recolens[g] et unitatem increatam in deo quarto considerans et quomodo triumphans ecclesia in ipso finaliter unietur, appeteret naturaliter unitatem.

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[e] *v. 5—6* [f] *v. 43—45: Et scripsit rex Antiochus omni regno suo, ut esset omnis populus unus; et relinqueret unusquisque legem suam. Et consenserunt omnes gentes secundum verbum regis Antiochi; et multi ex Israel consenserunt servituti eius et sacrificaverunt idolis et coinquinaverunt sabbatum* [g] *this substantivation of the participle frequently occurs in W.'s writings, cp. for instance cap. VII:* sic dicens concurrentibus *cap. III,* negans *cap. X; Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. 100:* contra tenentem opinionem

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[23] dicit *AB* dicat *CD* [24] unitas *ABC* veritas *D* [25] itaque *CDE,A¹ in mar.* igitur *A* regulam *B* [26] dominus *ABC* deus *D* [27] in *ABD* *om. C* [28] *in E is add. above the col.:* Fidei unitas procurabatur eciam a gentilibus principibus *E²* [29] Mach *ABCD* Mᵗ *E* Macha *E¹ in mar.* [30] primus *ABCD* *om. E* [31] dei int. si. a ling. *A* dei si. int. a ling. *CD* dei sibi a lingwa *B, but in mar. with mark of ref. to* dei *is add.* interpretari *B¹* [32] *in E is add. in mar.:* Alexander unde monarcha *E²* [33] baptismalis *ABD* baptizabilis *C* [34] viantis *ABC* unitatis *D*

CAP. II.[1]

Ex istis quidam fideles eliciunt, quod debet in militante ecclesia esse unica secta domini Iesu Cristi,[2] et per consequens quatuor secte, post sectam Cristi per dyabolum introducte, debent cessare gracia unitatis ecclesie militantis.

Sunt autem iste secte quatuor,[3] ut sepe[a] dictum est, clerus cesareus, monachi,[4] canonici atque fratres.

Clerus cesareus est multitudo sacerdotum,[5] qui temporali dominio sunt dotati, cuius patronus instabilis dicitur esse papa et regula lex papalis. Secunda secta dicitur esse monachi bipertiti, cuius patronus dicitur esse Benedictus, et regula, quam ex eius sentencia beatus Gregorius compilavit. Tercia secta dicuntur[6] canonici, cuius patronus fingitur Augustinus. Et dicitur, quod sacerdotibus sibi sociis dedit regulam[7] || facilem cum lege dei[8] concordantem. Quarta secta et ultima dicuntur[6] fratres, qui in ritibus et aliis observanciis[9] multipliciter sunt divisi,[10] sicut et triplex secta possessionatorum in[11] albos *(et)* nigros viros et feminas, quas sanctimoniales dicimus, dividuntur.[12]

| *A fol.* 240ᵇ

Et talis divisio instinctu[13] dyaboli indubitanter in militantem ecclesiam subintravit, et sicut confundit unitatem secte domini Iesu Cristi, sic confundit religiositatem ordinis cristiani.[14] Ideo, ut sepe

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dicitur, circa[15] unitatem secte domini tota militans ecclesia laborat,[16] cum Alexander Macedo, princeps ethnicus, circa hoc laudabiliter laboravit.

Unde secte iste, verecundantes suam divisionem a secta domini, dicunt, quod non sunt alie a secta domini Iesu Cristi, quia tunc indubie non forent nisi equivoce cristiani.[17] Sed suppono illis sine[18] contencione,[19] ut dictum est alibi, quod unitas secte requirit unitatem regule et patroni,[b] et cum iste secte quatuor tam in patrono quam regula[20] variantur a secta Cristi, evidens est, quod iste secte sunt dispares, sicut sunt ordines ex confessione propria variati.

Nec valet dicere,[21] quod secta Cristi est genus, et habet sub se species multiplices, quia ad unitatem individuam date secte sufficit unitas[22] individua regule et patroni. Sed Cristus et lex ewangelica sunt individua, ergo tota secta Cristi, sicut et sua ecclesia, est ad unitatem individuam reducenda. Quando autem secta Cristi fuit primo[23] simplex individua, tunc crescebat;[24] sed expost, cum false ficta fuerat esse genus, et partes specifice fuerunt[25] sine auctoritate Cristi vel eius licencia introducte, tunc decrevit.

Ymo constat logicis, quod individuum non potest crescere ad genus vel speciem; ideo non potest vere dici, quod iste secte quatuor[26] sunt species contente sub genere secte Cristi. Ymo cum diversitas numeralis[27] recedit ab unitate et secta Cristi,[28] ut patet ex suis[29] principiis, sit optima secta[30] possibilis, manifestum videtur, quod sit irreligiosa stulticia, sic recedere ab individua secta Cristi.

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[b] *for instance, above De Fundat. Sect. p. 21*

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[15] circa *BCD* citra *A* [16] laborat *ACD* laboret *B* [17] *in E is add. below the col.:* Secte unde convincerentur a Cristo divise E^2 [18] sine *ABC* sentencie *D* [19] *in C is add. in mar.:* Supposicio C^1 [20] regula *ABD* in regula *C* [21] dicere *ABD* d. *(sic) C, cp. above cap. I note 17* [22] unitas *ABC* et unitas *D* [23] primo *ACD* *om. B* [24] *in E is add. above the col.:* Lex secte Cristi simplex et individua profecit E^2 [25] fuerunt *ABC* fuerant *D* [26] ist. se. quat. *ACD* ist. se. *B, but in mar.* quatuor B^1 [27] numeralis *ABD* naturalis *C* [28] Cristi *CD*,A^1 *corr. into the text* *om. AB* [29] suis *ABC* eius *DE* [30] secta *ACD*,B^1 *in mar.* *om. B*

Nec possunt iste secte subterfugere, quin ab individua secta domini recesserunt. Sed quis processus terruit illos,[31] quod sic ab ista[32] unitate secte domini declinarunt?

CAP. III.

A fol. 240c ‖ Sed contra istam sentenciam instant sophiste[1] dyaboli, — contra hoc, quod dicit apostolus Eph. primo,[a] quod visibilis[2] ecclesia est unum corpus[3] et dominus eius caput, — primo sic: omne corpus est unum continuum, quia aliter foret substancia huius mundi corpus, licet fuerit in indivisibilia separata.

Sed hic dicitur concedendo primum principium tamquam fidem. Cum enim ecclesia sit sponsa Cristi et mulier fortis, ut dicit Salomo,[4b] necessario erit corpus, ut hic[c] dicit apostolus, nec dubium fideli,[5] quin Cristus non sit cum duris et frigidis lapidibus, cum lignis et aliis concurrentibus ad composicionem basilice desponsatus. Ideo oportet, quod ecclesia, sponsa Cristi, ex angelis et hominibus componatur. Et sic concedunt, quod ecclesia est unum continuum, quia secundum partes corporeas, et totus mundus est unum corpus maximum et foret, licet per impossibile in[6] indivisibilia dividatur. Continuacio enim et parcium composicio,[7] cum sit[8] accidens, non est principium nature corporee, cum totum genus accidentis a toto genere substancie[9] sit causatum. —

Secundo sic arguitur: cum angeli sint[10] partes ecclesie, et ipsa est unum corpus continuum, ut hic[d] dicitur, sequitur, quod con-

CAP. III. [a] *v. 22—23: Et ipsum dedit caput supra omnem ecclesiam, quae est corpus ipsius et plenitudo eius, qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur* [b] *cp. Cant. 4, 8 ff.* [c] *cp. Eph. 1, 24* [d] *cp. above l. 5 ff.*

[31] illos *ACD* illis *B* [32] ista *AB* *om. CD*

CAP. III. [1] sophiste *ACD* sophistice *B* [2] visibilis *ABC* universalis *D* [3] *in A is add. in mar.:* Ecclesia est unum corpus *A*[1] [4] Salomo *AD* Salomon *BCE* [5] fideli *BCD,E*[1] *with mark of ref. below the col.* *om. AE* [6] in *AB,E*, *but in mar.* totaliter *is add. by E*[1] totaliter in *CD* [7] composicio *ACD* posicio *B, but B*[1] com *in mar.* [8] sit *ACD,B*[1] *in the text* *om. B* [9] substancie *AB* *om. CD* [10] sint *AB* sunt *CD*

tinuum componitur ex non quantis,[11] cuius[12] oppositum demonstrat Aristoteles multis locis.

Hic concedenda est conclusio, ut patet ex multis evidenciis. Nam omnes partes istius corporis vel sunt pure divisibiles, vel pure indivisibiles[13] sive mixtim. Primo modo enim[14] dicitur, cum tunc omnes ille[15] partes assignate in principio[16] non sunt omnes, cum[17] habent medietates, quartas, et sic de aliis partibus proporcionabilibus, et per consequens ille assignate in principio[16] non sunt omnes.[18] Nec potest dici, quod ille omnes sunt indivisibiles, quia tunc nulla pars continui foret composita. Ideo relinquitur tercium membrum, quod nec omnes partes corporis sunt divisibiles nec omnes[19] indivisibiles, sed commixte. Et sic est de partibus corporis ecclesie, quod alique sunt divisibiles, ut corpora beatorum, alique[20] indivisibiles, ut spiritus beatorum, et alique mixtim, ut partes corporis ecclesie, que ex istis partibus componuntur. —

Sed tercio arguitur per hoc principium mathematicum, quod omne totum est maius sue parte quantitativa.[21] Sed totum corpus ecclesie non est maius, quam est corpus hominum beatorum, ergo corpus visibilis ecclesie non est ex hominibus et angelis aggregatum.

Hic dicitur, quod illud principium mathematicum, quod intelligitur[22] de quantitate, que est principium talis sciencie, ut quantitas discreta, que est principum arithmetice, vel quantitas continua, que est principium geometrie, — || illud idem,[23] inquam, principium intelligitur de partibus quantitatis[24] huiusmodi subiectorum. Et istud est verum, licet unum totum a sua parte maxima per indivisibile sit excedens, ut patet tam de quantitate continua quam discreta. || *A fol. 240d*

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[11] *in A is add. in mar.:* Continuum componitur ex non quantis A^1 [12] cuius *ABC* cum *D* [13] *in A is add. in mar..:* Ecclesie partes alique sunt divisibiles, alique indivisibiles A^1 [14] enim *A* non *BCD* [15] ille *ABC* *om. D* [16] principio *ABC* puro *(?) D (the abbreviation is not clear)* [17] omnes, cum *etc. BCD* omnes, nec potest dici *etc. AE the scribe got into the wrong line, led astray by* non sunt omnes [18] omnes *D*, *certainly also the original of A, cp. note 17* omnia *BC* [19] omnes *ACD*,B^1 *in mar.* *om. B* [20] alique *ACD* et alique mixtim ut partes corporis ecclesie *(ud.)* alique *B* [21] *in A is add. in mar.:* Omne totum est maius sua parte, quomodo intelligitur A^1 [22] quod intelligitur *B* quod *(cr. out & ud.)* intell. *AC* intell. *E*, *but in mar.* quod E^1 [23] idem *AB* *om. CD* [24] quantitatis *ABC* quantitativis *D*

Et sic dupliciter potest intelligi, unum corpus esse mai liquo, scilicet continue vel discrete; continue, sicut corpus ex sui partem quamlibet numeralem,[25] discrete autem unum corpu cedit reliquum per partes indivisibiles, que non sunt partes nume vel proporcionales geometrice suo toti. — Et in ista equivoca laborant inutiliter sciencie, que miscentur.

CAP. IV.

Sed adhuc instatur contra istam sentenciam, que asseritur fides: quelibet pars quantitativa corporis est corpus, sed ierarchie[1] celestes sunt partes quantitative corporis ecclesie, quelibet illarum est corpus, et per consequens spiritus, non habe posicionem[2] vel continuacionem, constituunt[3] unum corpus. quid impossibilius?

Hic dicunt catholici, quod duplex est pars corporis sciam cundum philosophos, scilicet pars quantitativa et pars qualitati et cum omnis homo sit corpus, et anima sit pars eius, non ver in dubium, quin non quelibet pars corporis et non quelibet qualitativa hominis est corpus.

Sed ulterius considerant theologi subtilius in ista materia, considerant de parte indivisibili corporis, quomodo[5] stat[6] resol quoad molem. Et sic loquendo de parte quantitativa cor ecclesie locuntur[7] de ipsa communius, quam locuntur philoso scilicet de parte qualibet numerali, et sic negant, quamlibet pa quantitativam corporis esse corpus, cum spiritus indivisibilis qu molem sit pars quantitativa corporis ecclesie, licet non hal

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[25] numeralem *ABD* materialem *C*

CAP. IV. [1] ierarchie *AC* gerarchie *BD* [2] posicionem *ABC* p ciam *D* [3] constituunt *ABC* consistunt *D* [4] quan. et p. qual. *AB* et p. quan. *CD* *in A is add. in mar.:* Pars corporis est duplex, quantitativ qualitativa *A*[1] [5] quomodo *B,C*[1], *in C the scribe left a blank space, in it* modo *was inserted by C*[1], *but the blank was not filled by it, so that there is* corporis *a lacuna* quam *AD* [6] stat *ACD* constat *B* [7] loquuntur *A* loquentur *(?) E*

tensionem;[8] ut patet de ierarchia celesti et spiritibus, qui sunt artes hominum.

Sed difficultas est, utrum aliqua ierarchia celestis vel aggregatum ex spiritibus hominum sit corpus. Et dicunt quidam, quod sic, quia corpus misticum, et sic aliquod est corpus, quod non est divisibile quoad molem. Et sic videntur legiste[a] loqui, vocantes legum suarum indivisibilem multitudinem corpus iuris, et sic aliquod est corpus, ex tribus partibus indivisibilibus, posicionem[9] non habentibus, integratum. Et ipsi dicunt, quod quelibet multitudo || || *A fol. 241a*
trium spirituum beatorum vel plurium est corpus ecclesie, sed corpus misticum. Nec[10] dissencio ab ista sentencia.

Si enim in fide scripture patule sit fundata,[11] secundo obicitur per hoc, quod si Cristus sit caput ecclesie, tunc est pars ecclesie,[12] quia aliter ecclesia foret corpus acephalum. Consequens videtur[13] falsum, quia Cristus est deitas,[14] et deitas[15] non potest esse pars creature, quia sic creatura foret perfeccior creatore.

Hic dicunt catholici, quod Cristus est indubitanter caput ecclesie, ut patet ad Eph. primo,[b] et sic potest dici esse dignissima[16] et suprema pars ecclesie, sed secundum humanitatem. Unde, sicut Augustinus in libro Retractacionum suarum vellet vocare Cristum hominem dominicum, si auctoritatem habuerit ex scriptura, ita nos vellemus in ista materia[17] loqui, sed de scripture locucionibus contentamur.

Et ita videtur, quod ante incarnacionem ecclesia non fuit acephala, cum habuit[18] deitatem extrinsecus, non intrinsecus capitantem. Habuit tamen ex incarnacione Cristi perfeccionem inestimabilem,

CAP. IV. [a] *The Legists are, according to the custom of the Middle Ages, the doctors of the roman, the Decretists of the canonical law* [b] *v.* 22

[8] extensionem *ACD,BE, but add. by B¹ in mar., and E¹ has add. in the text* co *(therefore* coext.) [9] posicionem *BD* positum *AC* [10] nec *BCD,A¹ in mar., corr. into the text by E¹* ut *E (ud.), A* [11] sit fundata *AB* sunt hec fundata *CD* [12] *in A is add. in mar.:* Cristus si est pars ecclesie *A¹* [13] videtur *A* videtur esse *B* est *CD* [14] deitas *ABCD* deistas *E* [15] deitas *ABCD* de ita *E* [16] potest dici esse dignissima *ACD* potest esse dirigi (dir. *cr. out)* dignissima *B* [17] in ista materia *BCD* istam materiam *A* [18] habuit *ABCD,E¹ in mar. om. E*

cum fuit[19] intrinsecus capitata. Et de isto capite videtur loqui apostolus ad Hebreos primo[c] secundum eius humanitatem, quando dicit, quod Cristus tanto melior angelis effectus, quanto[20] differencius pre illis nomen hereditavit. Hoc autem nomen videtur esse homo, deitati[21] ypostatice copulatus, et in racione istius nominis gaudebant angeli[22] tempore veteris testamenti.

Sed tercio dubitatur de racione, secundum quam homines et angeli sunt corpus ecclesie. Videtur enim, ecclesiam esse corpus valde heteromogenum,[23] et sic videtur esse congruum militanti ecclesie, habere sectas disparium naturarum.

Hic dicunt catholici, quod racio corporis ecclesie non est continuitas[24] mathematica, sed verius est[25] predestinacio, secundum quam [*in*][d] deo[26] ecclesia est unita. Et ita quoad istud ecclesia est[27] secundum quamlibet sui partem consimilis racionis,[28] cum tam[29] Cristus quam[30] angelus sit predestinatus, ut patet Rom. primo.[e] Ideo cum secta sit spiritualis, sicut predestinacio vel unio in deo, consonum est racioni, quod sit unica secta Cristi. Et sic conceditur, quod secundum racionem disparem Cristus est caput et sponsus ecclesie.[31]

|| *A fol. 241b* Alias autem difficultates, ut quod ecclesia ante incarnacionem || fuit acephala, licet tunc cum deitate fuit[32] desponsata, non audeo tangere, sed relinquo posteris pertractandas, sicut relinquo sophistis, quomodo idem corpus potest esse quantumcunque modicum et simul in zenith capitis, in nadir et[33] in polis.[f]

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[c] *v. 4* [d] *cp.* unio in deo *line 16* [e] *v. 4* [f] *The nadir is that point of the globe, which is just opposite the Zenith, therefore not visible*

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[19] fuit *ABCD,E*[1] *in mar.* sint *E* [20] quanto *B,A (corr. by the texthand* est quanto *CD* [21] editati *AB* deitate *CD* [22] angeli *AB* angeli et patres *C* apostoli et patres *D* [23] ethromogenum *A* ethromogenium *(the first* m *ed.) B* ethromogenium *C* etromogenium *D* et romogenum *E* [24] *in A is add. in mar.:* Ecclesie continuitas *A*[1] [25] est *AB* *om. CD* [26] deo *BCDE* dei *A* [27] est *AB* *om. CD* [28] partem consimilis racionis *B* partem est cons. racion. *CD* part. cons. sanctis *AE, but below the text is add.* racionis *by E*[1] [29] tam *ABC* tamen *D* [30] quam *ABC* quomodo *D* [31] *in A is add. in mar.:* Caput et sponsus ecclesie est Cristus secundum racionem disparem *A*[1] [32] fuit *ABC* fuerit *D* [33] *the passage is corrupt in consequence of the uncommon* nadir: in nadaer et *A,*

CAP. V.

Relicta ista abstracta materia restat tangendum grossius de **usibili ecclesia militante.**

Et incipiendo a radice supponendum est ut fides, quod Cristus caput illius ecclesie, ut sepe[a] dicit apostolus.

Sed de primatu apostolorum est apud modernos[1] dissensio. rimo videndum est, utrum fundari posset in fide scripture, quod 'etrus fuit caput ecclesie.[2] Et videtur quod non, quia de racione apitis est,[3] conferre omnibus membris sui corporis motum et sen-um. Sed Petrus nec contulit nec conferre potuit omnibus membris corporis sue ecclesie motum et sensum ad propositum, ergo Petrus non fuit caput sue ecclesie. Sensus enim non est pertinens isti proposito nisi sapiencia legis domini ad viandum. Et illum sensum[4] servavit deus ut sibi proprium, licet occasione doctorum fidelium eciam cuilibet[5] creature possit deus doctrinam suam imprimere. Et quantum ad motum, patet, quod non est pertinens nisi excitacio potencie volitive[6] ad serviendum deo voluntarie, quod est proprium deo, qui mentem humanam illabitur.[7] In cuius signum apostolus, qui fuit vas eleccionis thesauri divine sapiencie constitutus, sepe vocat Cristum caput ecclesie, et numquam in fide scripture vocatur caput ecclesie aliquis cristianus.

Et quantum ad tria nomina Petri, patet secundum interpre-

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to our eye. Nadir and Zenith are 'the poles of the fundamental plain of the horizon'; they are, therefore, as is shown by astronomers, every where a quadrant (viz. 90 degrees) distant from the latter.

CAP. V. [a] *Cp. Eph. 1, 22 ff.; also above cap. I p. 656*

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but nadir A^4 *in mar.* in nadaor *(? nadaer)* et *B* invadit et *C* invadit delicta ista abstracta materia restat *(cr. out & ud.)* in nadir et *D, the scribe got into the wrong line, which begins cap. V, but cp.* delicta

CAP. V. [1] est ap. mod. *AB* ap. mod. est. *CD* [2] *in D is add. below the col.:* Petrus utrum fuit caput ecclesie D^2 [3] *in A is add. in mar.:* Capitis conlicio A^1 [4] illum sensum *BCD* illud secundum *A (?)* [5] cuilibet *CD* cuiuslibet *AB* [6] volitive *ABC* valentem *D* [7] illabitur *ACD,*B^1 *away from the line, in mar. om. B*

tacionem Hieronymi, quod[8] non sonant, quod Petrus sit ca ecclesie alicuius. Petrus enim dicitur agnoscens sive discalci Simon autem dicitur obediens, ponens[9] tristiciam vel auditor roris; Cephas[10] vero est nomen tercium a Cristo sibi imposit ut patet Ioh. primo,[b] et ipsum interpretatur potens vel firmita et[12] est nomen syrum, non hebreum.

Sed rogo: quid sonat interpretacio alicuius istorum[13] nomini ut Petrus || sit caput ecclesie? Si igitur Augustinus timuit,[14] voc Cristum hominem dominicum ex hoc, quod eius sensus non est tulus ex scriptura,[15] quanto magis timendum est, aliquem cristian vocare caput ecclesie, ne forte blasphemetur in Cristum, cui l nomen ex trinitatis concilio tamquam sibi proprium est servatu

Videtur autem, modernos philocaptos[16] esse frontosos ex he tica cecitate,[17] quia ponunt Petrum[18] et papas generaliter, quon quosdam est verisimile esse dyabolos,[19] esse caput tocius eccle militantis, ymo precipiendo angelis, esse caput ecclesie triumphan Et tamen fratres asserunt publice, quod ille est hereticus, qui po quemcunque[20] dampnatum esse dyabolum,[c] sicut Cristus voca Scarioth. Et in tali errore lapsi sunt plurimi, ut quidam dici expresse, quod hoc est impossibile, quod Cristus descendit ad feros, cum nichil de Cristo nisi spiritus suus descendit ad infer et impossibile est, illum spiritum esse Cristum; et ultra innuunt quod iste articulus fidei sit[22] valde hereticus, quia implicat, qu

A fol. 241c

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[b] *v. 42* [c] *as to this assertion, cp. De Diab. et membr. e cap. I, above p. 361*

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[8] secundum int. Hier. quod *EA[1]* quod sec. int. Jer. quod *BCD* quod *(cr. by A[1])* sec. int. Hi. quod *A* [9] ponens *BCD* pavens *A* [10] *in D is a below the col.:* Cephas *D[2]* [11] firmitas *AC* finitas *BD* [12] et *ABC* ecian [13] alicuius istorum *BCD* aliquorum *A* [14] timuit *ABC* innuit *D* [15] *in A add. in mar.:* Preter scripturam aliquid asserere est periculosum *A[1]* [16] phi captos *AD* philocaptas *B* filo *(ud.)* philocaptos *C* [17] cecitate *BCDE* pr tate *(ud.)* cecitate *A* [18] petrum *ABD* pe. *(sic) C* [19] *in A is add. in m* Johannes papa XXIII. fuit in concilio Constancienci pro dyabolo incarnato pub per suos cardinales et totum concilium condempnatus anno domini milles CCCC° XV° *A[2]* [20] quemcunque *BCD* quomodocunque *A* [21] innuunt *AB* innuuntur *E* [22] sit *AB* est *CD*

ille spiritus est dominus Iesus Cristus, et sic, ut balbuciunt, Cristus non foret tunc verus homo vel integer, sed foret identificacio rerum, ex qua sequitur oppositum cuiuslibet articuli fidei cristiane.

Suppositis autem oppositis horum deliramentorum, videtur esse sanum catholice, nec concedere de Petro nec aliquo[23] cristiano, quod sit caput alicuius ecclesie, sed hoc tamquam proprium domino reservare.

Quis autem apostolorum fuit princeps[24] vel capitaneus plus dilectus, est dissensio apud multos, sed Petrum videtur habere prerogativam[25] humilitatis, paupertatis et voluntarie administracionis, sicut videtur ipsum conversando cum Cristo habuisse primatum[26] quendam interrogando, respondendo et operando, ac si hoc innueret, Petrum habiturum quandam[27] principalitatem secundum legem domini in regimine ecclesie militantis. Sed hoc nullo modo innuit, quod Petrus fuit[28] caput ecclesie, sed quod fuit humilior, pauperior et servitivior, cum Cristus diffinit, quod inter apostolos penes hoc maioritas attendatur, ut patet Matth. vicesimo,[d] Marc. decimo[e] et Luc. vicesimo altero.[f]

Ideo videtur multis ex fide scripture, || quod[29] dyabolus num- | *A fol. 241d* quam emungeret[30] hunc errorem, nisi ut placeatur hominibus et attendatur superbia in prelatis.

CAP. VI.

Superest videre, si Petrus fuit appropriate || vicarius Cristi in terris et habens super quoscunque reliquos[1] apostolos[2] ad hoc pro-

[d] *v. 26—27* [e] *v. 43—44* [f] *v. 26—27*

[23] al. *ABD* de al. *C* [24] princeps *ABC* principalis *D* [25] *in D is add. in mar.:* Petrus habuit prerogativam D^2 [26] *in D is add. in mar.:* Primatum D^2 [27] quandam *BCD* quendam *A* [28] fuit *AB* erit *CD* [29] mul. ex fi. scr. quod *E* mult. quod (qu. *cr. out)* ex fi. script. quod *A* mult. quod ex fi. script. *BCD* [30] emungeret *C* coniungeret *AE* iniungeret *B* enim iungeret *(ud.) D, but in mar. is add.* gigneret D^2

CAP. VI. [1] reliquos *ABD* aliquos (a *ud.) C, but corr. into the text by* C^1 [2] apostolos *ACD,*B^1 *in mar.* *om. B*

priam potestatem.[3] Et videtur quod sic,[4] quia Matth.
cimo[a] Cristus singulariter dicit Petro: quodcunque ligav
terram, erit ligatum et in celis, et quodcunque solveris sup
erit solutum et in celis; et ibidem[b] prerogative dicitur san
tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam n
tibi dabo claves regni celorum. Et in istam sentencia
fides et usus[5] ecclesie.

Sed antequam ulterius procedatur, videtur dicendum,
isto puncto proposito[7] sit credendum. Videtur autem
quod omnibus[c] apostolis Cristus dedit plenitudinem pot
ligandum et solvendum[8] et faciendum quodcunque prelati
in ecclesia militante, ut plane dicitur Matth. duodevicesim
vicesimo.[e] Aliter enim non fuisset Cristus providus mitt
apostolos sic solitarie ad tam separatas provincias reg
Non enim consuluerunt[9] ceteri apostoli ex suis provinciis
Petrum, ac si ab illo papalis potestas necessario[10] eman
Paulus dicit signanter, quod illi, qui videbantur esse aliq
lumpne ecclesie, nichil sibi contulerunt,[11] ut patet Gal.
deus, inquit, personam hominis non accipit; michi enim,
bantur esse[12] aliquid, nichil contulerunt, sed e contra
dissent, quod creditum est michi[13] ewangelium prepucii,
Petro circumcisionis[14] — qui enim operatus et Petro[15] in a
circumcisionis, operatus est michi[16] inter gentes — et cu
vissent graciam dei, que data est michi, Iacobus et Ceph
hannes, qui videbantur esse columpne, dextras dederunt

CAP. VI. [a] *v. 19* [b] *v. 18* [c] *cp. Chronicon A*
[d] *v. 18* [e] *v. 23* [f] *v. 6—14*

[3] *in A is add. in mar.:* Si Petrus fuerit supremus apostolus *A*[1]
sit *A* [5] so. fi. et us. *ACD* sonat fides ut usus *B* [6] quid *AC*
[7] proposito *ACD* proposite *B* [8] *in A is add. in mar..:* Omnibus apo
Cristus plenitudinem potestatis *A*[1] [9] consuluerunt *ABCD* cons
[10] necessario *ACD* necessaria *A* [11] contulerunt *ACD* contulerant *B*
ABD,C[1] *in mar.* *om. C* [13] quod cred. est michi *BE* quod est (
cr. est m. *A* q. e. cr. m. *CD* [14] petro circumcisionis *etc. ABCD*
apostolatu circumcisionis *etc. E* [15] petro *ABD* petrus *C* [16] mi
michi *B*

nabe societatis,[17] ut nos inter gentes, ipsi autem in circumcisione, tum ut pauperum memores essemus, quod eciam sollicitus fui[18] ipsum facere. Cum autem venisset Cephas Antiochiam, in fam ei[19] restiti, quia reprehensibilis erat.[20] ||[21 g] Prius enim, quam nirent quidam ab Iacobo, cum gentibus edebat; cum autem venissent, subtrahebat et segregabat se timens eos, qui ex circumsione erant, et simulacioni eius consenserunt ceteri Iudei, ita ut t Barnabas duceretur[22] ab eis in illam simulacionem. Sed cum idissem, quod non recte ambularent ad veritatem ewangelii, dixi Cephe coram omnibus: si[23] tu, Iudeus cum sis,[24] gentiliter vivis et non iudaice, quomodo gentes cogis iudaizare? — Istam autem benedictam fidem historiacam spiritus sanctus[25] in ewangelio Pauli secundum istam formam[26] inseruit ad confundendum superbiam et heresim sequencium prelatorum. || *A fol.* 242a

Primo igitur patet in hoc ewangelio, quod apud[27] deum non est accepcio personarum. Ideo erubescerent heretici dicentes,[28] quod Petrus habet ceteris apostolis excellenciorem potenciam,[29] quia est episcopus Romanorum.[h]

Patet secundo, quod isti tres principales apostoli non contulerunt sensum vel motum ewangelii sancto Paulo, sed quod Iacobus, qui

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[g] *with ref. to note 20 and 21, cp. Corp. iur. can. ed. Leipzig 1879, I, 332* [h] *cp. the same passage, Ypodigma Neustriae 324*

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[17] *in D is add. in mar.:* Dextras dederunt D^2 [18] fui *ABD* sui *C* [19] ei *ABC* eius *D* [20] *in A is add. in mar.:* Cyprianus episcopus p. 24 q. 1o cap. loquitur ad petrum, dicit, quod omnibus apostolis post resurreccionem suam parem potestatem tribuit. Ad item est Hieronymus, Dist. 95 cap.: Olim idem presbiter et episcopus A^2 [21] *above col. 242a and b, in the margin of the folium is written:* Ciprianus episcopus p. 24 q. 1o capitulo loquitur *etc. as note 20* [22] duceretur *ABCD* diceretur *E* [23] si *ABCD* sed *E* [24] Iudeus cum sis *ABCDE* *Vulg.:* cum Iudaeus sis [25] sanctus *ABC* sancti *D* [26] formam *AB*,C^1 *(inserted in the blank left by C)* foret *D* [27] apud *ABC* sic apud *D* [28] *in D is add. above the col.:* Erubescere debent heretici de excellencia Petri D^2 [29] *in A is add. in mar.:* Potestatem equalem ligandi et solvendi habuerunt A^2

episcopus[30] Hierosolymitanus, ubi Cristus fuit episcopus, a deo in hoc ewangelio Simoni[31] antefertur.

Patet tercio, quod mundana honorificencia et nomen vocacionis patris sanctissimi non inter istos apostolos relucebat,[32] cum isti precipui confessi sunt, Paulum et Barnabam esse sibi socios, non prelatos dominos aut[33] magistros.

Quarto patet, quomodo Paulus ex caritate Petro patenter[34] restitit,[35] cum certus fuerat, quod peccavit ad relinquendum exemplum aliis, ut ipsi faciant postmodum sine personarum accepcione similiter.

Quinto patet, cum quanto fervore et timore no*(ce)*ndi[36] ecclesie Paulus servavit[37] contra Petrum ewangelicam libertatem. Et utinam[38] ista doctrina foret hodie practizata! Tunc enim cessarent legales ritus istarum sectarum quatuor introducti.

Redeundo ergo ad primum propositum patet logicis,[39] quod Petrus habuit in aliquo prerogativam supra ceteros apostolos,[40] et e contra alii Petrum in aliquo excedebant,[41] cum notum sit, quod verbum Cristi, singulariter dictum Petro, fuit exemplar et doctrina sequenti ecclesie militanti. Sed si fuit Petri[42] excellencia simpliciter supra alios, hoc fuit ex dei gracia et propter meritum humili-
A fol. 242b tatis que floruit excellencius in hoc Petro. Petrus enim dicitur | aliqualiter fuisse[43] firmus in fide, sed notatur ex dicto Cristi, quod illa fides fuit fundamentaliter gracia Iesu Cristi. Vanum igitur est, nobis ex talibus verbis Petrum[44] simpliciter anteferre,[45] sed vivamus humiliter in fide secura et nobis ambiguum dimittamus.

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[30] episcopus *BD,A, but in mar.* erat *A¹* erat *(ud.)* episcopus *C* erat episcopus *E* [31] Simoni *C (corr. from* Simone), *AD* Simone *BE* [32] relucebat *ABC* *om. D* [33] aut *AB* ac *CD* [34] patenter *CD,E¹ in mar.* patens *ABE* [35] restitit *ABC* resistit *E* [36] notandi *ABC* vocavi *D* [37] servavit *AB* servat *CD* [38] utinam *ABC* ut iam *D* [39] logicis *ABD* loicis *C* [40] *in D is add. above the col.:* Prerogativa *D³* [41] *in A is add. in mar.:* Petrus habuit prerogativam aliquam supra alios apostolos et e contra *A¹* [42] petri *AB* pe. *(sic) CD. cp. above cap. V, 18 and below note 44* [43] fuisse *BCD,E¹ above the col.* habuisse *AE* [44] petrum *ABC* pe. *(sic) D, cp. above cap. V, 18 and VI, 42* [45] anteferre *ACD* anteferri *B*

CAP. VII.

Habito, quomodo Petrus et ceteri apostoli se habuerunt ad istum ad ecclesie serviendum, restat videre, quomodo romanus ntifex vel papa se habeat ad Petri potestatem vicariam suundum.[1]

Et constat primo ex fide, quomodo potestas, quam papa exercet, it a potestate cesarea derivata, nec habet fundamentum in fide ripture nisi, ut loquar yronice, ex illo Luc. vicesimo altero:[2a] ges gencium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic. Ideo si non t potestas nisi a deo, patet, quod maior potestas, quam[3] false vencat, sit potestas sophistica et sic dyabolica usurpata.

Primo tamen restat videre, si ad continuacionem regiminis ilitantis ecclesie oportet, Cristi et Petri vicarium in ecclesia cataliter presidere.[4] Et videtur quod non, quia Cristus post ascennem sui in celum maxime prudenter regebat[5] ecclesiam tum ex rte sapiencie domini presidentis, tum eciam ex habilitate[6] ecclesie ilitantis. Sed tunc non reliquit[7] aliquem taliter[8] presidentem, go nec modo debet aliquis taliter[9] presidere, et in signum istius ulus vere vocavit Petrum suum socium.[10] Vere confessus fuit, od Petrus nichil sibi contulit et sibi acute in suo errore seducro[11] ecclesie contradixit. Quomodo ergo non foret maius peccatum, troducere istam novitatem gentilem sine fundacione debita legis i? Nam licet cesar ex sua stulticia vellet privilegium tale condere, viri tamen apostolici foret, ipsum renuere. Ideo qui nititur cusare in hoc Silvestrum vel alium a peccato, nititur accusare

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CAP. VII. [a] *v.* 25—26

CAP. VII. [1] *In D is add. below the col.:* Quomodo papa habeat se ad testatem Petri *D²* *in A is add. in mar.:* Quomodo papa habet potestatem *A¹* 22º*A* 20º*BCD* [3] potestas quam *etc. ABCD,E¹ with mark of ref. below the l.* potestas sophistica et sic *etc. E* [4] presidere *BD* esse *(cr. out & ud.)* esidere *C* residere *A* . [5] regebat *ABC* regebant *D* [6] habilitate *BCD* humilitate *A* [7] reliquit *AB* relinquit *CD* [8] aliquem taliter *A* aliquaer *B* aliqualiter taliter *CD* [9] taliter *ACD* *om. B* [10] *in D is add. in r..:* Paulus vocavit Petrum socium *D²* [11] seductivo *ABC* seduccio *D*

Cristum et contempnere Cristi legem.[12] Cristus autem tradid officium et legem suis discipulis, in quibus, quantumcunque habil fuerint,[13] forent plenarie occupati. Quis ergo potuit eis dare pot statem extraneam tardantem vel subtrahentem ab illo officio et s seculare officium a Cristo prohibitum inducentem? Et si dicitur, | *A fol 242c* || quod sic dicens imponit calumpniam beato Silvestro et cesari, cer tum est, quod ex[14] leviori causa imponimus culpam, ut imponit fides ewangelii[15] sancto Petro. Supponi tamen potest, quod sanctu Silvester de isto crimine postmodum penitebat.[16] Hoc tamen asseritur citra fidem, qua creditur, quod Petrus post culpas suas multiplices fructuosius postmodum penitebat.

Ex istis patet peccatum paparum sequencium, qui ex vita Petri talem presidenciam mendaciter concludebant,[17] et cum nemo debet mentiri propter salvacionem seculi,[18] patet, quod pape, sic con tinuantes in hac presidencia, graviter continue peccaverunt. Et hic dicitur, quod a maligno spiritu agitantur,[19] quod locum[20] pro phanissimum,[21] in quo effusus fuit sangwis multorum martirum, u romanum curiam elegerunt.[22] Ex continuacione vero sue seculari vite et luciferine superbie patet, quomodo contra Cristum continuan in errore. Ideo fideles cordati contradicerent in hoc romano pontific

Si igitur Petrus peccavit contra libertatem ewangelii in ho quod ab esu cum gentibus se subtraxit, quanto magis anticristi peccat,[23] qui cupit[24] super omnem habitabilem[25] presidere et no servato officio, quod Cristus limitat, impedit alios, ut volentes ewa

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[12] *in D is add. in mar.:* Qui excusat Silvestrum, accusat Cristum D^2 *in mar.:* Silvester peccavit dotacionem acceptando A^1 [13] fuerint *AB* fuerunt C [14] ex *ACD*,B^1 *corr. into the text om. B* [15] ewangelii *ACD* ewangelium [16] *in C is add. below the col.:* Silvester penituit C^3 [17] concludebant *ABD* co cludebat *C* [18] *in D is add. in mar.:* Nemo debet mentiri D^2 [19] *in D add. in mar.:* A maligno spiritu agitantur D^2 [20] locum *ABCD* locum loc (*the second* lo. *cr. out*) *E* [21] prophanissimum *ABC* eligerent proph. *D* [22] i *is add. in mar.:* Romanam curiam elegerunt D^2 *in A in mar.:* Roma est lo prophanissimus, quem pape a dyabolo agitati elegerunt A^3 [23] peccat — peccarunt *BCD* peccaverunt E^1 *in mar.* [24] cupit *BCDE* peccat (*cr.* ud.) cupit *A* cupiunt B^1 *corr. into the text* [25] habitabilem *BD* habitab terram (*cr. out & ud.*) habitabilem *C*

gelizare et alia opera apostolica[26] exercere, per suam fictam et infundabilem iurisdiccionem,[27] eciam infundabilem potestatem regis superbie, ne currat libere sermo dei. Et tamen propter timorem servilem nulli vel pauci sunt, qui audent istam sentenciam ewangelicam diwulgare.

Persona tamen,[28] hec asserens, protestatur,[29] quod, si docta fuerit vel aliquis viancium docere sciverit, quod ista sentencia sit fidei scripture vel racioni contraria,[b] wlt ipsam humiliter revocare; credit[30] tamen evidenter, quod tenetur ex lege dei, publicare istam sentenciam, quia omittendo peccaret in Cristum et in[31] eius ecclesiam, cum[32] videtur multis peritis probabile, quod iste papa sit precipuus anticristus et coraula ducens exercitum dyaboli contra Cristum, et tamen[33] more[34] dyaboli simulat,[35] se habere potestatem maiorem ad dimittendum peccata et alias indulgencias ac privilegia concedendum, ultra quam fecerat Cristus vel aliquis apostolorum. Ideo est multis verisimile, || quod ista simulata ficcio in dyabolo est || *A fol. 242d* fundata.

CAP. VIII.

Ex istis claret causa divisionis, que est in ecclesia militante. Olim enim fuit per questum Cristi in suis apostolis et pastoribus suis fidelibus, ipsos sequentibus, nostra habitabilis conquisita lacius, quam est modo. Cuius causa indubie est defectus pastorum, qui sunt perversi in mercenarios et[1] lupos, et non secuntur dominum Iesum Cristum et tamen[2] Petrus, quem pseudoapostoli nominant

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[b] *With ref. to this protestat of the Author, who here appeals to the Scriptures, cp. Woodford's interesting Tract in Fasciculus Rerum Expetend. Orth. Grat. ed. Ed. Brown, London 1690,* 257

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[26] apostolica *BCDE* ewangelica ex *(cr. out & ud.)* apostolica *A* [27] *in A is add. in mar.:* Iurisdiccio pape *A*[1] [28] tamen *ABD* autem *C* [29] *in C is add. in mar.:* Protestacio magistri *(texthand)* *in A in mar.:* Protestacio doctoris ewangelici *A*[3] [30] credit *AB* crediddit *CD* [31] in *ACD* *om. B* [32] cum *ACD* tamen *B* [33] tamen *AB* cum *CD* [34] more *ACD* mare *B* [35] similat *ABC* similant *D*

CAP. VIII. [1] et *A* atque *BCD* [2] tamen *CD* cum *AB*

papam, scribit fidelibus I. Petri secundo[a]: Cristus, inquit,[3] passus est[4] pro nobis[5] nobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamur vestigia eius. Quis enim non haberet conscienciam super isto, quod Cristus in persona propria vixit tam aspere et passus est[6] tam dire,[7] ut cristiani, qui forent oves sue, ipsum in moribus sequerentur?

Si ergo papa, quicunque episcopi vel prelati ecclesie adversantur Cristo in doctrina,[8] vita et moribus, non mirum, si ex hoc et isto dicto Petri in consciencia vel peccato animi sint[9] gravati. Si autem perversi sint in mercenarios et[10] lupos,[11] non mirum, si laniando et spoliando oves ab ovili domini sint[12] dispersi. Et hec creditur racio, quare secta saracenica, que est hodie longe maior[13] quam secta cristiana, a cristianismo cecidit.[14] Non dubium, quia pastorum superbia et[15] cupiditas altrinsecus[16] est in causa.

Et eadem est causa casus secundi, quare Greci a nominetenus fidelibus sunt divisi.[17] Creditur tamen, quod nostri occidui, qui sunt nimis maniaci,[18] divisi sunt a grecis fidelibus et[19] fide domini Iesu[20] Cristi.

Hec eciam est tercia causa, quare papis aspirantibus ad dignitatem istam cesaream[21] popul*(i)*,[22] adherentes ipsis, ab unitate fidei sunt divisi. Non dubium, quin error consistit in ipsis pastoribus, qui debent in moribus sequi Cristum. Sed[23] quis eorum est, qui vitam suam corporalem ponit pro ovibus, quin[24] pocius vitam cor-

CAP. VIII. [a] *v. 21*

[3] inquit *ACD* in quid *B* [4] *in D is add. below the col.:* Cristus passus est pro nobis *D*[3] [5] pro nobis *AB* *om. CD* [6] passus est *A* vixit *CD* *om. B* [7] dire *ABC* dure *D* [8] *in D is add. below the col.:* Prelati adversantur Cristo *D*[3] [9] sint *AB* sunt *CD* [10] et *A* vel in *B* vel *CD* [11] *in D is add. below the col.:* Perversi sunt in lupos *D*[3] [12] sint *AB* sunt *CD* [13] hodie longe maior *ACD* hodie maior *B*, *but B*[1] *has add. in mar.* longo [14] cecidit *ABC* occidit *D* *in A is add. in mar.:* Quare secta saracenica a cristianismo cecidit et sic de grecis fidelibus divisis a nominetenus fidelibus *A*[3] [15] et *A* atque *BCD* [16] altrinsecus *BCD* altrisentis *A,E* [17] *in D is add. below the col.:* A Grecis divisi sunt *D*[1] [18] maniaci *ABC* numerati *D* [19] et *BCD* ex *A* [20] Iesu *ACD* nostri Iesu *B* [21] *in D is add. below the col.:* Ad dignitatem aspirantes cesaream *D*[3] [22] *all codd. read* populo [23] sed *A* si *BCD* [24] quin *ABCD* quando *E*, *cp. cap. IX, note 22; X, 18*

ralem ovium ponunt pro suis superbiis ac avariciis tamquam lupi. mo, qui videntur pastores laudabiles, sunt mercenarii, temporale ipendium et non beatitudinem pro sua custodia expectantes. Ipsi utem videntes adventum lupi rapacis, fugiunt ut vecordes, cuius causa est indubie, quod non sunt fundati in fide, spe et caritate, A fol. 243a
sed in amore temporalium ut mercenarii non mercedem beatitudinis expectantes. Ideo talis mercenarius non est pastor, nec habet oves proprias, cum pro sua[25] custodia premium beatitudinis non expectat; patet tota[26] ista sententia Ioh. decimo.[b]

Sed fideles credunt unionem ecclesie sub[27] uno ovili et uno pastore ante diem iudicii vel post in beatitudine,[28] quia iuxta dicta superius[c] divisio sectarum in fide et moribus necessario[29] est ad unitatem in mercede beatitudinis vel pene finaliter[30] reducenda.

Unde quidam fideles publicant in wulgari, quod, sicut bonum esset, habere papam,[31] qui sequeretur[32] Cristum et Petrum in moribus et doctrina, sic malum esset, habere papam, qui in hiis duobus foret pastoribus istis[33] contrarius.

Secundo dictum est, si papa adversatur istis pastoribus in vita, moribus et doctrina, tunc est precipuus anticristus. Istud autem possunt fideles cognoscere ex fructibus, qui proveniunt[34] ex suis laboribus. Et comperto, quod pastores isti sophistici sunt taliter anticristus,[35] tunc sunt tamquam dyaboli detestandi, quia episcopus animarum Iesus Cristus, in celis residens, est caput vivax tocius ecclesie militantis.[36]

Tercio dictum est, si cristiani adorent huiusmodi anticristum,[37] ac si fuerit verus Cristus, tunc dyabolus per hoc habet desideratum medium ad seducendum populum ad infernum.[38] Ideo cum ex fide I. Cor. quarto[d] et undecimo[39][e] nemo debet sequi in moribus Petrum,

[b] v. 1—15 [c] cp. above cap. II [d] v. 16 [e] v. 1

[25] sua BCD suo A [26] tota ACD om. B [27] sub BC super AD [28] in A is add. in mar.: Quando erit unus pastor et unum ovile A[3] [29] necessario AD necesse BC [30] finaliter ACD, B[1] in mar. fideliter B [31] in D is add. below the col.: Bonum est habere papam D[3] [32] sequeretur BCD sequetur A [33] istis ABC om. D [34] proveniunt ABC proveninuit D (a corr. word, probably proveniunt) [35] anticristus ABCD anticristi E [36] in D is add. in mar.: Caput Cristus D[2] [37] in D is add. in mar.: Adorare anticristum D[3] [38] infernum BCDE inferum A [39] et undecimo BCDE et 11° (cr. out) A

Paulum vel aliquem cristianum, nisi de quanto ipse sequit minum Iesum Cristum, patet, quod error istorum ficte pastoru viancium positus est in signum, ut fideles ab eis fugiant quantur dominum Iesum Cristum. Nescio contradicere isti sent cum sit propinqua fidei cristiane.

CAP. IX.

Superest scrutari profundius errorem in isto principio,[1] u cius caveatur.[2] Dicitur enim, curiam illam statuere sibi pro r quod papa, qui sit summus Cristi vicarius in terris, a cardin eligatur.[3]

Videtur autem error in isto principio multas[4] sequentes h parturire. Cristus enim, verus deus et homo, ex summa sapi elegit sibi duodecim[5] apostolos, et ex fide cardinales non po equiparari in isto ipsi[6] sapiencie increate. Ergo stulta presum foret, hoc sine evidencia fidei attemptare. Quando ergo papa est sufficiens ad eligendum sibi cardinales loco[8] apostolorum, r magis ipsi cardinales non sufficiunt, sine errore papam eligere
A fol. 243b quam Cristum. Et confirmacio || istius est ex hoc, quod[9] pseudocardinales sunt electi per eleccionem istam stolidam, qui modum multum onerant ecclesiam et conturbant.[10]

Et idem patet in defectu[11] de eleccione erronea istorum parum duorum; que eleccio non potest subterfugi fuisse erro secundum[13] utramque vel[14] alteram sui[a] partem. Et verisimil multis, quod partes dividentes ecclesiam totam occiduam, swad

CAP. IX. [a] *With ref. to this use of* sui, *cp. cap. VII p.* post ascensionem sui, *cap. XIII p. 687:* sui cum illis societas a *quently*

CAP. IX. [1] principio *BCDE* p , ut *(sic) A, the passage is illeg consequence of an erasure having taken place* [2] *in A is add. in mar.:* Si licite eligit 12 cardinales *A*[1] [3] *in D is add. in mar.:* De eleccione *D*[3] [4] tas *ABC* multos *D* [5] duodecim *ACD* 2cim *B* [6] ipsi *BCD* Cristi *A* sumpcio *ACD* presupscio (cio *cr. out) B* [8] loco *BCDE* laco *A* [9] *ABC* quia *D* [10] conturbant *ABC* perturbant *D* [11] defectu *AB* effec [12] *in D is add. in mar.:* Eleccio erronea duorum paparum *D*[3] [13] secund secundam *ACD* [14] utramque vel *AB* utramque partem vel *CD*

cionem sibi contrariam, fuisse erroneam, verum[15] dicunt, cum **urali** instinctu homines desiderant[16] et consenciunt veritati. Et **est verisimile**, quod ambe elecciones paparum ad primatum huius**li**[17] erant stulte; similiter non procedere in sibi ambiguo, ubi **racio** securior et meritorior, magis patet, sed eleccio paparum · **istos** cardinales est ipsis ambigua, et operacio securior et meri**ior** est[18] a domino limitata.

Ergo eleccio illa est secundum dei prudenciam[19] dimittenda, **alia** operacio, ut ewangelizacio, diccio oracionis dominice vel alia [20] deo ordinata ad edificacionem ecclesie est humiliter amplectenda.

Nam iuxta principium fidei dictum a Hieronymo[21] et incorporatum in Decretis de Con. dist. quinta[b]: non mediocriter peccat, qui dimisso magis bono et magis facili elegit minus bonum. Sed quis dubitat, quin[22] recta ewangelizacio sit securior atque facilior quam pape talis eleccio? Ergo electores debent hoc maius bonum eligere et insecurum dimittere. Et ista videtur esse sentencia apostoli Rom. decimo quinto,[c] quando dicit: non enim audeo aliquid eorum loqui, que per me non efficit Cristus.

Numquid credimus istos electores cognoscere, quod Cristus ad edificacionem ecclesie elegit[23] hunc in[24] papam? Videtur ex facto apostolorum post missionem spiritus sancti contrarium. Nam ipsi

[b] *i. e. in Decretis, de Consecratione, Dist. V. The passage is to be found Corp. iur. can., Decr. p. III de Consecratione, dist. V., cp. 24; it runs as follows: Mediocre bonum non est magno praeferendum. Item Hieronymus (in regula monachorum ex Hieronymo collecta — Polycarpus l. 3 t. 25): Non mediocriter errant, qui bono magno praeferunt mediocre bonum. Nonne rationabilis homo dignitatem amittit qui vel ieiunium caritati aut vigilias praefert sensus integritati, ut propter abstinentiam immoderatam atque indiscretam psalmorum vel officiorum decantationem aut amentiae aut tristitiae notam incurrat? etc. — Cp. Corp. iur. can., Lpzg. 1879, I, 1418* [c] *v. 18*

[15] verum *AB,C²* *in the text, C¹ in mar.* unum *CD* [16] desiderant *AD* considerant *C* desiiderant *B* *this orthography is peculiar to B, cp. also* consiiderare, hiistoriacam *and some others* [17] huiusmodi *ACD* huius *B* [18] est *ABCD,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [19] prudenciam *ABD* prudencia *C* [20] a *BCDE,A¹ in mar.* *om. A* [21] Hieronymo *ABC* Cristo *D* [22] quin *ABCD,E¹ in mar.* quando *(sd.) E* [23] elegit *ABC* eligit *D* [24] in *ACD,B¹ corr. into the text* *om. B*

eligendo Matthiam non audebant istud presumere, sed mi sortem super Matthiam et Ioseph, et cecidit sors super Matt ut patet Act. primo.[d] Que ergo prudencia est, quod iste cetu dinalium est Paulo et istis apostolis in eligendo hunc summum vicarium, quem fingunt esse superiorem Matthia, audacior? R videtur, quod sit[25] irregularis eleccio et frontosa.[26]

Similiter ecclesia Cristi posset regulari prospere[27] et quiet tali papa,[28] ut patet de tempore ab ascensione usque ad dotaci ecclesie. Ergo cum nec racio nec auctoritas eleccionem huius introduxit, videtur, quod || pape talis eleccio et potestatis sue libra sint[30] contrarie racioni. Et hoc patet ex facinore, a papis p dentibus[31] pullulante.[32] Capit enim papa supra suam noticiam potenciam regulam ad regendum totam ecclesiam militantem,[33] nunc supponunt,[34] quod vita sua et mandatum suum sit re cunctis fidelibus ad viandum.

| *A fol. 243c*

CAP. X.

Ex istis lucescit error pullulans ex errore isto temere in e siam introducto; nam ex dignitate presumpta papali fides cath est sopita[1] et fides dyabolica[2] introducta.

Nam hodie capitur tamquam fides, quod non est poss papam manentem papam errare in moribus et specialiter in catholica,[3] quia capitur tamquam regula, quod si papa quidqu diffinierit, tunc erit fides et sic[5] infinita de privilegis, indulge

[d] v. 26

[25] sit *ABCD,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [26] *in E is add. above the col.:* Eleccio unde redditur insecura et periculosa *E²* [27] prospere *ABDC¹* *in C th* *a lakuna* [28] *in A is add. in mar.:* Regulari potest ecclesia sine pa [29] libracio *ABC* liberacio *D* [30] sint *ACD* sit *B* [31] precedentibus procedentibus *C* [32] pululante *ABC* pululantem *D* [33] eccl. militanten eccl. introducto nam ex dignitate presumpta *(from* int. *ud.)* militantem *scribe got into the wrong line, cp. commencement of cap. X* [34] suppo supponitur *BCD*

CAP. X. [1] *In D is add. below the col.:* Ex dignitate presumpta fi sopita *D³* [2] dyabolica *ABC* dyaboli *D* [3] *in D in mar.:* Papa non [4] quidquam *ABC* quemquam *D* quidquid *C² in mar.* [5] sic *CD* *om.*

[6] excommunicacionibus et censuris aliis capiuntur a simplicibus mquam fides, et cum certum sit, quod[7] papa sit vir temptabilis, a multis dyabolis assidue est temptatus, nec[8] est deus necessitatus, lectoribus istis condescendere, dando isti pape graciam et virtutem, atet, quod faciliter potest corruere in quamcunque[9] voraginem viiorum. Nam apostoli ut Petrus et ceteri in presencia magistri ptimi in multa vicia corruerunt.[10] Quare ergo est[11] deus necessitatus[12] ad dandum huic pape graciam, qui preter eius auctoritatem in suum tam eximium vicarium est electus? Revera videtur, sic opinantes blaspheme innuere, quod apud Cristum sit necessario accepcio personarum, quod est contra apostolum ad Gal. secundo[a] et sepe alibi.[b]

Similiter cum superbia sit pes inducens in totam voraginem viciorum, et iste primatus contra mandatum domini sapit manifestam superbiam,[13] videtur, quod iste prelatus sit manifestissime labilis in peccatum. Nam Psalmo tricesimo quinto[c] dicitur: non veniat mihi pes superbie, et manus peccatoris non moveat me. Ex quo fideles eliciunt, quod superbia est primus pes,[14] per quem peccator a deo decidit, ut patet de Lucifero et aliis personis in ecclesia a deo apostatantibus.[15]

Et quantum ad manus peccatorum, ad varietates criminum excitantes, patet, quod papa ex suo presumpto officio ad diversitatem || consensus peccati multorum hominum est temptatus. Ubi *A fol. 213d* enim Cristus noluit ex sua omnisciencia esse iudex vel divisor bonorum fortune,[16] ut patet Luc. duodecimo,[d] papa capit supra[17]

CAP. X. [a] *v. 6* [b] *cp., for instance, Deut. 10, 17; II Chron. 19, 7; Job 34, 19; Ecclesi. 35, 16; Acts 10, 34; Rom. 2, 11; I Pet. 1, 17* [c] *cp. Ps. 36, 12* [d] *v. 22—29*

[6] et *A* de *B* *om. CD* [7] et cum cert. sit quod *A* et tamen certum est cum *BCD* [8] nec *ABD* ut *C* [9] quamcunque *ACD* quantamcunque *B* [10] *in A is add. in mar.:* Petrus et ceteri in presencia magistri optimi in vicia corruerunt *A*[3] [11] est *AB* *om. CD* [12] qua. er. est de. nec. *A* qua. er. de. est. nec. *B* qua. er. de. nec. *CD* [13] *in D in mar.:* Primatus sapit manifestam superbiam *D*[3] [14] *in A in mar.:* Pes primus est superbia *A*[3] [15] apostatantibus *BC* apostotantibus *AD* [16] *in A is add. in mar.:* Papa dividens beneficia errat *A*[1] [17] supra *ACD* super *B*

se, esse iudex vel divisor omnium beneficiorum ecclesie propt lucrum, nec dubium, quin[18] papa non habet generaliter sciencia quin dat consensum multis dyabolis in particione huiusmodi s presumpta.[19] Que ergo fides, quod iste papa peccare non poterit?[20] Et si dicatur, quod peccare non poterit manens papa, eque evide ter vel evidencius nullus predestinatus peccare poterit manens i gracia.[21] Hoc enim patet ex famosa significacione terminorum fidei,[22] sed iste terminus papa et hec sompniata sentencia non sunt fundata ex racionibus vel scriptura.

Similiter ut fides capitur, quod papa sit pater[23] sanctissimus et caput ecclesie in tantum, quod, ut experimento didici, negans istam sentenciam erit tamquam hereticus persecutus. Sed certum est, quod nec papa in persona propria nec ecclesia[24] conversans cum illo, cui non sit revelacio, scit,[25] si predestinatus fuerit vel prescitus et per consequens, si sit membrum ecclesie vel dyabolus incarnatus. Quomodo ergo perversa est in fidem[26] ista presumpcio quod papa necessario est salvandus et errare non[27] poterit i agendis. Ista quidem blasphemia acueret dyabolice multos hom nes, ut sint pape, quod[28] possint[29] credere istam heresim, qu postmodum errare non poterunt[30] vel peccare. Sed colligat pa cum suis cardinalibus et aliis Cristi fidelibus sensum suum et vide si papa potest esse contrarius Iesu Cristo, videat, si revelacion habuerit de futuris contingentibus sibi ipsi, si[31] alium papam s versantem sibi cum suis consencientibus excommunicare poterit e contra, ymo generaliter, si dando indulgenciam[32] vel fulminan censuram conformis fuerit deo suo.

[a] *cp. above p. 176 ff.*

[18] quin *ABCD* quando *E*, *cp. cap. VIII, 24; IX, 22* [19] presumpta - presumptam *CD* [20] *in D is add. in mar.:* Que ergo fides *etc.* — poterit *D*[2] [21] *A is add. in mar.:* Papa non potest peccare manens papa *A*[1] [22] ex fam. si term. fi. *AB* ex famoso sermone ter. fi. *C* e scenoso sermone dominorum fi [23] pater *ABC* *om. D* [24] nec ecclesia *AB* nec eciam eccl. *D*, (eccl. *ad-* [25] scit *E* nescit *A*, *but* ne *cr. out by A*[1]*, BCD, E*[1] *in mar.* [26] fidem *A* - fide *C* [27] non *ABCD* *om. E* [28] quod *CDE, A*[1] *in mar.* quia *AB* [29] sint *AB* possunt *CD* [30] poterunt *ABC* potuerit *(!) D* [31] si *ABC* - cet *B* [32] indulgenciam *ABC* sentenciam indulg. *D* sentenciam *C*[1] *in* -

Que ergo certitudo, quod papa tam stolidus errare non poterit vel peccare! Numquid credimus partiri poterit beneficia ecclesiastica imperitis[33] propter primos fructus vel aliud munus, quod[34] expresse sapiat symoniam? Numquid Simon Magus[35] propter mentem peccatis infectam et recessum ab imitacione Cristi eximitur, ne committere poterit[36] symoniam? Numquid ille terminus aut officium illud || sine Cristi licencia introductum[37] facit ista miracula[38]? | *A fol. 211a*

Revera si vite Cristi sit manifeste contrarius, est evidens, quod sit dyabolus, cum Matth. decimo sexto[39] docet fides, quod Petrus, ut videtur, pia intencione et simplici dicens[40] Cristo: absit hoc a te, domine, vocatus fuit sathanas[41] ab ipsa veritate: vade, inquit Cristus, post me, sathana.[f] Et indubie si perseverasset finaliter[42] in illo proposito adversarius[43] Cristo in sua[44] voluntate, ut ceperat Petrus, fuisset dyabolus condempnandus. Numquid credimus, papas aliquos adversantes Cristo in sua voluntate in illa adversancia[45] interire[46]? Multi possunt credere, quod multi pape possunt superbia indurari tamquam dyabolus et mori in tali adversancia, quam taquam sathanas adversantur[47] domino Iesu Cristo.

CAP. XI.[1]

Quidam autem ex fide scripture in practica sancti[2] pape eliciunt duodecim casus, in quibus papa est contrarius Iesu[3] Cristo,[4]

[f] *v.* 22—23

[33] imperitis *ACD* imperitus *B* [34] vel aliud munus quod *AC* vel al. minus quod *B* vel ad munus aliquod quod *D* [35] magus *ABCD* magnus *E* [36] poterit *ABC* posset *D* [37] introductum *ABC* introductam *D* [38] ista miracula *ABD* ista *(cr. out & ud.)* miracula ista *C*, *but transposed by marks, therefore* ist. mir. [39] 16° *ABD* 10 *C* [40] dicens *ABD* dicere *C* [41] *in D is add. in mar.:* Petrus vocatus fuit Sathanas D^3 [42] finaliter *ABCD* dyabolus condempnandus *(ud.)* finaliter *E*, *the copier got into the wrong line, deceived by* fuisset [43] adversarius *A* adversans *BCD* [44] sua *CD* *om. AB* [45] adversancia *BCD* adversitate *A* [46] interire *AB* in terris *CD* [47] adversantur *B* adversaretur *AC* adversatur *D*

CAP. XI. [1] *From this chapter on to the end of the Tract, cod. III. G. 16., δ, fol.* 36[a] *(of the Univ.-Library at Prague) contains our text. Its title (written by the texthand) runs thus:* Capitulum undecimum ex tractatu wikleff de cristo

quod, si moritur sic[5] Cristo contrarius, est indubie sathanas atque dyabolus.[6] Nam iuxta interpretacionem nominis anticristi ille, qui est Cristo contrarius in vita et doctrina, est ut sic anticristus. Quod si pape magis hoc conveniat, tunc indubie est precipuus anticristus, quia, licet dixerit, quod sit immediatus Cristi vicarius, tamen Matth. decimo[a] dicit Cristus: inimici hominis domestici eius. Ideo si in vita et doctrina[7] sit Cristo magis contrarius, tunc est Cristo precipuus inimicus et per consequens peior dyabolus conversans cum hominibus et precipuus anticristus.

Primo, inquam, ubi Cristus est veritas, ut patet ex fide Ioh. decimo quarto,[b] papa dicitur esse principium falsitatis, et ut sic Cristo contrarius. Dicitur autem seminare mendacia in verbis, scriptis et vita; in verbis quidem, quia dicit ex suo officio, se propinquissime sequi Cristum tamquam eius verum vicarium, dum tamen sit a Cristo in moribus maxime elongatus. Aliter enim non palliaret suam excellenciam seducendo populum, quomodo veniret in nomine crucifixi, ut Cristus prophetat[8] Matth. vicesimo quarto[c]: multi, inquit, venient[9] in nomine meo, dicentes, quia ego sum Cristus, et multos seducent.

Et si scriptis attendimus, videat homo scripta apostolorum, que ex fide sunt scripta domini Iesu Cristi, et scripta papalia, cuiusmodi sunt bulle et decretales epistole, et potest percipere, quo-
A fol. 244b modo in sentencia non concordant, cum scripta papalia dicunt mundanam excellenciam, scripta autem ewangelica insinuant humilem[10] fugam mundi.

CAP. XI. [a] *v. 26* [b] *v. 6* [c] *v. 5*

et suo adversario Anticristo. Et tractatus ille incipit sic Secundum ...atho ecclesia est predestinatorum universitas. *This long title fills two* ...hort *lines; in the third line the text begins:* Quidam *etc.; to the left above* ...Qui *add. byt he texthand:* Capitulum undecimum. *All this, with the title* ... *ment are written upon an erasure* [2] sancti *Aδ* fancti *(the* n *ud.)* ... [3] Iesu *ACDE* domino Iesu *Bδ,E[1] in mar.* [4] *in A is add. in mar.* ... condiciones pape Cristo contrarie *A[1]* [5] sic *ABDδ* sit *C* [6] *in* ... *mar.:* Papa contrarius Cristo *D[3]* in 12 casibus *D[1]* [7] vita et d... doctrina et vita *CD* [8] prophetat *ABδ* prophetavit *CD* [9] ve... veniunt *B* [10] humilem *ABδ* humiliter *CD*

uantum ad vitam, patet, quod Cristus et papa sunt directe cum secunda[11] Cristi condicio fuit, quod ipse tenuit regu- summam[12] pauperiem, ut[13] prophetatam est de ipso in re,[d] ut sentenciat[14] apostolus II.[15] Cor. octavo[e]: pro nobis ictus est, ut illius inopia nos divites essemus. Papa autem se et laborat ad hoc nimis illicite, quod sit seculo summe[16] ristus enim per pauperiem vicit mundum, ut patet Ioh. eptimo,[f] et ideo docet apostolus suus in epistola ad Titum,[g] negantes impietatem et secularia desideria sobrie et iuste ivamus in hoc seculo. Ideo non mirum, si propter inhia- pape et suorum sacerdotum ad secularia desideria sit tota militans perturbata.

tercio Cristus fuit homo mitissimus et mansuetissimus, ut tth. undecimo[17h]: discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis eius mansuetudo declaratur capitulo duodecimo[i] ex testi- saie.[k] Papa autem dicitur esse homo superbissimus et me vindicativus, quia, dum deficit sibi potestas brachii ficte[18] simulat censuras excommunicacionis, et indulgencias[19] nctis, qui ipsum super hostes suos[20] voluerint[21] vindicare, [22] de cruciata[l] nuper[23] erecta contra antipapam, qui vide- nostro pretenso plus humili adversari. Et sic verificatur ondicio anticristi, ubi[24] Cristus dicit Ioh. decimo[m]: ego sum

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[d] *cp. Zach. 9, 9* [e] *v. 9* [f] *v. 14* [g] *cp. 2, 12* [h] *v. 29* [i] *v. 17—18* [k] *vgl. 42, 1* [l] ***the Crusade** (the passage:* laborantibus in illa cruciata *seems to show that the preparations for the campaign, the papal ordinances etc. are over and that the actual war has begun already) took place from the middle of May 1383, **Walsingham**, Hist. Angl. II, 88; according to **Knighton**, col. 2672, 44 in June 1383* [m] *v. 11*

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unda *ABCδ* eciam *D* [12] summam *ACDδ* summe *B* [13] ut *ACDδ*, *om. B* [14] sentenciat *BCDδ* senciat *A* [15] 2ª *A* *om. BCDδ* *BCDδ* sume *E* [17] 11º *A*, et 12º *is erased, but still legible, E reads* 1º, *but E¹ has added* et *after* 11º *and in mar.* 12 11º et 12º *BCDδ* δ suas ficte *CD* [19] indulgencias *ABCδ* indulgenciis *D* [20] suos *CD* [21] voluerint *ABCδ* voluerunt *D* [22] patet *E¹ in the text* *CDEδ* [23] nuper *ABCD* muper δ [24] ubi *A* quod ubi *BCDδ*

pastor bonus,[25] et annectens proprietatem boni pastoris bonus[26] pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis; e cont papa, qui videtur melior, pro sua[27] vita superba, quam[28] coı contra Cristum per fictam suam cruciatam, ponit multa mili marum. Nec possit[29] patere patencior condicio anticristi, verisimile[30] est, quod illis laborantibus in illa cruciata defe fides, spes et caritas, et sic tam in corpore quam anima[3]· occisi, licet anticristus evasit[32] per suas fallacias contra humilitatem et mititatem[33] populi[34] seductivas.[35] Quid, : esset expressior condicio contra Cristum, quam, ubi ipse[37] aı suam pro multis posuit eciam inimicis, papa animas multorui
.| *A fol. 244c* lium amicorum Cristi ponat[38] non solum pro suo corpore, || s sua dominacione mundana, quam possidet[39] contra Cristum?

Quarto sic[40] sub anathemate gravi precepit ad Gal.] et sepe alibi, quod non adderetur aliquid impertinens ve trarium legi sue, cum lex sua sit per[41] se sufficiens secı Augustinum continens singulas veritates. Papa autem ‹ condere multas leges, que distrahunt a noticia legis Cr sapiunt[42] crudelitatem multiplicem personarum, ut periti e de penis repugnancium cardinalibus, plus punitorum, quam seı penas esse gravandas contra ipsos, qui peccant graviter deum.[43] Et ista lex videtur[44] esse blasphema[45] illis, qui s istam materiam undique,[46] cum Cristus transeundo per San

[n] *cp. John 10, 11* [o] *v. 8*

[25] *in A is add. in mar.:* Bonus pastor *A*[1] [26] bonus *A* quod bonu: [27] pro sua *ABCD,δ*[1] *corr. into the text* *om. δ* [28] quam *B(!),CDδ* quomodo *E*[1], *corr. from* non [29] possit *A* posset *BCDδ* [30] verisir *CDδ,E*[1] *in mar.* visibile *E* [31] ani. *ABCD* in ani. *δ* [32] evasit *A* rit *BCD* evaserat *δ* [33] et mititatem *ADCD,E*[1] *in mar.* *om. E* mitit *corr. word) δ* [34] populi *ABDδ* papali *C* [35] seductivas *ABδ* sedu [36] rogo *illegible in E, there is a hole in the parchment* [37] ipse *ABCD* ipso *δ* [38] ponat *ABCD* ponit *δ* [39] possidet *ABCD* posset *δ* *BCDδ* sicut *A* [41] per *ACBδ* pro *D* [42] sapiunt *ABCD* sapiumt *δ* *ABCδ* Cristum deum *D* [44] videtur *ABCDδ,E*[1] *in mar.* *om. E* phema *A* blasphemia *BCDδ* [46] undique *ACDδ* undiquamque *B,E*[1] undiquam *(ud.) E*

noluit negantes[47] sibi atque suis prandium et hospicium propterea cruciari,[48] ut patet Luc. nono[p]: nescitis, inquit, cuius spiritus[49] estis? Filius enim[50] hominis non venit[51] animas perdere, sed salvare. Papa autem dicitur crudeliter multas animas perdere, numquid ipsum credimus propterea anticristum?

CAP. XII.[1]

Sequitur propter fructum istius materie videre alium quaternarium,[2] in quo Cristus est contrarius anticristo.

Primo in servicio discipulis[3] limitato. Cristus enim precepit suis discipulis, ut irent in orbem universum et predicarent ewangelium omni creature, ut patet Marc. ultimo,[a] anticristus autem in persona propria et in suis discipulis servat contrarium. Nam quoad personam propriam vel residet in sumptuoso castro, edificato furtive de bonis pauperum, vel fugit latenter ut latro de loco in[4] locum, non audens erigere caput proprium[5] propter hostes. — Et quoad suos discipulos, patet ex regula sibi subdita, vel facit suos episcopos in castris[6] dominorum temporalium residere, vocans totum hoc[7] furtive conquestum patrimonium crucifixi, vel claustrales suos includit in claustro ipsos impediens, ne predicent libere ewangelium creaturis. Et sic utrobique adversatur monitis[8] domini Iesu Cristi. Nam quidam papa[b] residet tamquam alter[9] Cozdre[10][c] in castro

[p] *v.* 55

CAP. XII. [a] *v. 15* [b] *Clement VII.* [c] *Kosru (Chosroes) II., a Sassanid and Nestorian, being engaged in continuous and victorious wars*

[47] negantes *ABCδ* ne gentes *D* [48] pro. cru. *ABδ* cru. pro *CD* [49] cuius spiritus *ABCδ* cuius *(ud.)* quid aut cuius spiritus *D* [50] enim *ABδ* *om. CD* [51] venit *ABCδ* wlt *D*

CAP. XII. [1] *In δ there is no division into chapters* Sequitur *etc. follows closely after* anticristus *in the same line; in the left margin* cap. 12m [2] *in A is add. in mar.:* De quaternario *A*[1] [3] *in E* discipul, *also* enim pro *and* ut irent *which follow shortly afterwards are wanting on account of the hole, see cap. XI, 36* [4] in *ABCD* ad *δ* [5] proprium *ABδ* suum *CD* [6] castris *ABDδ* castro *C* [7] hoc *BCDEδ,A*[1] *in mar.* *om. A* [8] monitis *ABDδ,C*[1] *(inserted in the blank left by C)* [9] alter *ABδ* altis *C* alc*(? t)*is *D* [10] Cozdre *AB* cosdree *C* casdree *D* Cosdre *δ*

Avinonie,[11] et quidam in castro Rome vel alibi,[d] ewangelizaci ubilibet pretermissa. Et iudicet fidelis, utrum in hoc sequ Iesum Cristum. Nam Cristus elegit capi in orto,[e] ut patet]
A fol. 244d duodevicesimo[f] et perante circuivit pedester || per[12] patrias ew gelizans gratis hominibus[13] regnum dei, nec timuit capcioi suorum hostium, ut patet de Scarioth, ministris pontificum et p riseorum, sed eis gratis se obtulit, continue benefaciens inimicis patet duodevicesimo,[14g] ubi supra.

Et cum papa non[15] intrat secundum istam formam in o ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, patet ex testimonio Cristi, qui men non poterit, Ioh. decimo,[h] quod sit realiter fur et latro.[16] B ergo, que capit de pauperibus ad edificandum castra talia et faciendum genus suum inclytum, furatur de pauperibus tamqu latro. Et quoad claustrales, quos secundum legem suam incarce patet idem. Nam totum hoc facit ex mendacio, non consencie domino capitali, et per consequens omnia bona ista rapit de p peribus ut fur et latro. Sed quis posset esse in hoc magis c trarius Iesu Cristo?[17]

Secunda condicio anticristi[18] Cristo[19] contraria stat in i quod Cristus auffugit[20] seculariter dominari, anticristus autem cup in hoc specialiter extolli supra dominum Iesum Cristum, quia fi mendaci titulo, quod extollitur seculariter super quodlibet regn mundi, ac si dyabolus sibi concederet illud, quod Cristus re

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with East-Rome advanced in 616 as far as Chalcedon, but after ha persecuted in his new provinces the catholic christians with terrible elty he was totally defeated in 628 by the Emperor Heraclius [d] *Urban*
[e] *i. e.* horto — *all the codd. read* orto (*?* orco) [f] *v. 1 ff.* [g] *J 18, 25—27* [h] *v. 1*

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[11] avinonie *ABδ* avinione *CD* [12] per *ABCD* *om. δ* [13] homin *ABCD* *om. δ* [14] 18 *ABE* Joh. 18 *CD* Johann. 8vo *δ* Jo. *E*[1] *in mar.* [15] *ABCD* *om. δ* [16] *in A is add. in mar.:* Papa edificans castra realiter es et latro *A*[8] [17] posset e. in h. m. c. I. Cristo *ABδ* p. in h. m. e. c mino I. C. *CD* [18] anticristi *ACDδ,B*[1] *in mar.* *om. B* [19] Cristo *Aδ* Cristo *B* exposicio *CD* [20] auffugit *ACDδ,B in mar.* *om. B* [21] cup capit *BDδ*

capere a dyabolo tamquam contrarium legi dei, ut patet in temptacione Cristi tercia Matth. quarto.[i]

Et sicut magister istius dotacionis est mendax, sic et ista dotacio est ficticia[22] plena mendacio. Quis[23] enim dubitat, quin papa non sit dominus omnium bonorum religiosorum, tam possessionatorum quam mendicancium, licet ipse et sui cardinales legem constituant, ex qua cum[24] paribus istud sequitur manifeste? Ex istis infertur veritas istius dicti apostoli[25] II.[26] Thess. secundo,[k] quod anticristus extollitur supra Cristum. Cristus enim non[27] habuit proprium sibi humanitus, ubi caput suum cum discipulis reclinaret, ut patet Matth. octavo.[l] Iste autem anticristus fingit contrarie, quod dominatur[28] sic supra[29] omnia regna mundi, quod[30], si fratres ipsum vere constituant dominum supra[31] omnia bona sua in Anglia, non dubium, quin exinde dominaretur — quod absit — capitaliter super bonis omnibus regni nostri, quia sine regis licencia acciperet[32] dominium super omnibus istis bonis et per idem dominium super omnibus bonis ecclessie nostre per reges dotate. || Sed || *A fol. 245a* quomodo foret cum isto[33] rex noster nisi subregulus[34] subditus[35] anticristo, quia, antequam fratres vel religiosi possessionati istud capitale dominium sibi[36] dederant, fuit apud deum racionabile, quod ipsum[37] haberet. Et per consequens ex titulo voluntatis divine habuit ius ad illud et sic ad omnia bona regni.[38]

[i] *v. 10* [k] *v. 4* [l] *v. 20*

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[22] ficticia *ABCD* fictica δ [23] quis *ABD*δ quin *C* [24] cum *ABCD* *om.* δ [25] apostoli *ABCD* *om.* δ [26] 2a *ACD*δ 2o *B* [27] non *ABCD*,δ[1] *corr. into the text* *om.* δ [28] dominatur *ABCD* dominetur δ [29] supra *ACD*δ super *B* [30] quod *A* quia *BCD*δ [31] supra *A* super *BCD*δ [32] acciperet *ABCD* acciperetur δ [33] isto *A(?),B*δ iste *CD* [34] subregulus *AB*δ regiminibus *D* subregulis *C* [35] subditus *ACD*δ subditis *B* [36] sibi *ABC*δ non sibi *D* [37] ipsum *BCD*δ ipse *A* [38] regni *ABCD* regni sui δ —. *After* regni *in A is add. (by the texthand):* Mily boze neprze pussty ey toho nanasse czechy sprostne; *the same in E with slight orthographical alterations:* Myly boze neprze pusstiey toho nanasse zechi sprostne, *i. e. O good God, do not let come this man into our beloved Bohemia (Mily bože, nedopouštěj toho na naše prostne Čechi!) In all the other codices this patriotical and indignant exclamation of the scribe, who copied the Tract, is wanting.*

CAP. XIII.

Adhuc superest videre, quomodo papa in conversacion est contrarius Iesu Cristo.

Iesus[1] enim fovit et sustinuit seculare dominium et negavit suis sacerdotibus convenire, sed papa facit in isto c rium, ergo in isto est contrarius Iesu Cristo. Cristus enim est in[2] tempore, quo dominium magis floruit, de quo tempor propter[3] tranquillitatem[4] et pacem a domino prophetatum secundo[a]: conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres et lanceas[5] su falces. Cristus eciam[6] gracia confirmacionis istius dominii tributum cesari, ut patet Matth. decimo septimo,[b] ymo mar illa, que sunt cesaris, dari cesari, ut patet Matth. vicesimo al Et in illo involucro[8] confirmavit secularia dominia subdomir sub cesare dominancium. Unde nec in persona propria n suis apostolis quesivit[9] temporale dominium, nec fuit secul dominis nec suis tenentibus onerosus, ut patet de duobus conviviis et confessione multiplici sancti Pauli.

Papa autem videtur in omnibus istis esse contrarius,[10] p quia abstulit medietatem romani imperii, quod nec Cristu aliquis[11] eius apostolus acceptasset. Et sic de approbacione d cleri[12] dotati et mendicancium subdole dominium[13] seculare a ancium, que omnia[14] papa gaudenter approbat et confirmat. cum idem sit, esse Cristo contrarium et contrarium factis[15] videtur ex ista contrarietate papam esse patulum anticristum.

Similiter Cristus[16] elegit sibi discipulos simplices, ydiota mundi pauperes, ut patet Matth. decimo,[d] et in introitu ad

CAP. XIII. [a] *v. 4* [b] *v. 27* [c] *v. 21* [d] *v. 1 ff.*

CAP. XIII. [1] Iesus *BCδ* in Iesus *A* Cristus *D* [2] in *ABDδ* [3] propter *ACDδ* *om. B* [4] tranquillitatem *ABCD* tramquillitatem *δ* ceas *Bδ* lances *ACD* [6] eciam *ABCδ* enim eciam *D* [7] 22° *ACDδ* [8] involucro *ABCD* convolucro *δ* [9] quesivit *ABCDδ,E*[1] *in mar.* que su *out & ud.) E* [10] contrarius *ABC* Cristo contr. *Dδ* [11] aliquis *ABδ* q [12] cleri *ABDδ,C*[1] *in mar.* talis *(ud.) C* [13] dominium *ABCDδ* domi [14] omnia *BCDδ* omnino *A* [15] factis *CDE,δ*[1] *(corr. from* sanctis) sanc [16] Cristus *ACDδ* *om. B* [17] ydiotas *ABCδ* et idiot. *D*

religionem facit eos plus pauperes, ut patet Matt.[18] undevicesimo[e] et Luc. decimo quarto[f] illis dicit: omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciat omnibus, que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Papa autem eligit[19] sibi[20] plures quam duodecim cardinales, plus inclytos, callidos et astutos, et prius mundo abiectos elevat in falsos dominos urbis et orbis.[21] Aliter enim foret discipulus magistro nimis dissimilis et ex contrarietate foret || societas dissoluta, quia Ecclesiastici[22] tredecimo[g] dicitur: quid communicabit cacabus ad ollam? Quando enim se colliderint,[23] confringetur.[24] || A fol. 245

Ex istis videtur,[25] quod papa habet affeccionem inclinatam mundo, et hinc[26] consentit et eligit, quod habeat tales socios sibi continue assistentes.

Similiter Cristus prohibuit suos ferire cum[27] gladio, sed pati ut ipse, cum potuit hostes suos, si voluerit,[28] faciliter superare, ut patet Ioh. duodevicesimo.[h] Papa autem dicitur d(u)cere[29] et conducere milites de bonis pauperum ad cumulandum sibi superfluitates stercorum et discipulos suos, qui severius exsecuntur illud officium, plus commendat, eciamsi cardinales fuerint,[30] et ad uberiorem promovet dignitatem. Sic, quod Cristo conversante nobiscum non foret sui cum illis[31] societas, quia secundum apostolum II.[32] Cor. sexto[i] non est communicacio Cristi ad belial, et secundum legem suam, quam[33] dat de David, tales pugnatores et viri sangwinum non sunt digni[34] sacerdocio regis pacis.

Ex istis practice declaratis declarari potest patencius, quod papa ad bella sic[35] provocans[36] sit patulus anticristus, quia ante incarnacionem et tempore sue nativitatis et post resurreccionem

[e] *v. 23 ff.* [f] *v. 26* [g] *v. 3* [h] *v. 11* [i] *v. 15*

[18] Mt.o *BDδ,E¹ in mar. om. ACE* [19] eligit *ACδ* elegit *BD* [20] sibi *ABCD om. δ* [21] et orbis *ABCD,δ¹ in mar. om. δ* [22] ecclesiastici *ABCδ* Genesis *D* [23] colliderint *ABDδ* colliserint *C* [24] confringetur *ABD* confringentur *δ* olla confringetur *C* [25] videtur *ABCD* patet *δ* [26] hinc *AB* sic *δ* habere *CD* [27] cum *ABCD om. δ* [28] voluerit *ABδ* voluerat *CD* [29] docere *AB* dare *CDδ* [30] cardinales fuerint *ABCD* cardinalis fuerit *δ* [31] illis *ABCD,δ¹ corr. into the text* cristus *(cr. out) δ* [32] 2a *D³ in mar. om. ABDδ* 1a *A¹(?) in mar., C* [33] quam *ACDδ* quomodo *B* [34] digni *ACDδ om. B* [35] sic *ABCδ* sit *DE* [36] provocans *BDδ* provocatus *AC*

Cristus pacem suis fidelibus commendavit. Sed cum inequa distribucio temporalium sit causa discordie et bellorum,[37] videtur, quod[38] papa, principians[39] tot dominia secularia in clero et auferens illa de seculari brachio, sit principium discordie et bellorum, et illa est condicio anticristo.

CAP. XIV.

Adhuc restat finaliter iuxtaponere[1] tres proprietates contrarias ex multis,[2] que conveniunt Cristo et pape vocato eius vicario.

Prima est, quod Cristus limitavit racionabiliter locum iurisdiccionis in Iudea: non sum missus, inquit, nisi ad oves, que perierunt[3] domus Israel, ut patet Matth. decimo quinto.[a] Quando autem visitavit Samariam, Tyrum et Sidonem vel terras alias, hoc fuit[4] figurative ad denotandum, quod gentes fuerunt postmodum in ovile domini convertende, et in istis terris convertit filios Israel. Papa autem vellet extendere suam iurisdiccionem per totam terram habitabilem, dum lucrum sibi saperet, quia per hoc creditur, quod mandavit angelis rapere spiritum care ementis hoc spirituale suffragium in numerum beatorum. Ymo si crederet, illud sonare[5] sibi in lucrum, vellet suam iurisdiccionem[6] extendere per vacuum infinitum. || *A fol. 246r* Verum tamen cum[7] in castro vel villa[8] parva || [9] vix vel numquam predicat iura Cristi, videtur, quod modicus locus iurisdiccionis sibi sufficeret.

Sed triplex videtur causa huius extensionis fatue supra Cristum,[10] Petrum vel quoscunque alios apostolos Iesu Cristi. Primo, ut exteri ferant sibi copiosius pecuniam et in die iudicii commer-

CAP. XIV. [a] *v.* 24

[37] et bellorum *ABCD*,δ [1] *in mar.* et *(cr. out & ud.)* δ [38] quod *AB* [illegible] D [illegible]
[39] principians *ABCD* principans δ

CAP. XIV. [1] iuxtaponere *AB*δ imponere *CD* [2] ex multis *AC* [illegible] Dδ
[3] perierunt *ABCD* perierant δ [4] fuit *AB* fecit *CD*δ [5] sonare *A* [illegible] *CD*
[6] *in C in the lower mar. of the fol. there is add. as a catchword:* [illegible] vell[illegible] iurisdiccionem *C* [7] cum *BCD*δ tantum *A* [8] villa *ABC*δ in villa [illegible] D
this col. on to the end of the chapter in the text of A the red comm[illegible] *as discontinued; in cap. XV they reappear* [10] Cristum *BCD*δ Crist[illegible]

cantes cum illo symoniace[11] contra suam maliciam contestentur. **Secundo,**[12] ut declaret[13] stultis evidencius immensitatem vel generalitatem sui dominii. Tercio,[14] ut vexet[15] fideles anxius[16] citando eos in tempore brevi, in quocunque loco ipsum esse contigerit.[17] Numquid credimus in hoc sequitur dominum Iesum Cristum? De Cristo quidem[18] legimus,[b] quod venit[19] per magnam distanciam ad[20] Iordanem baptizandus a[21] Iohanne, et Iohannes mirative dixit sibi: ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me? Et Iesus ait: sine modo, sic enim decet nos implere omnem iusticiam. Papa autem ex tali crebra citacione contra dominum citando impotentes citatos[22] a domino ad locum contrarium pro eodem tempore per infirmitatem et[23] impossibilitatem ad in loco citacionis pape incognito comparendum ostendit condicionem patulam anticristi.[24] Cristus enim citat ad unum locum pro uno tempore, et ipse ad locum contrarium pro eodem. Cristus eciam non[25] permittit nos temptari ultra hoc, quod possumus,[26] ipse autem mandat nos[27] facere, quod non possumus. Cristus eciam numquam citat nisi ad beatitudinem vel medium ad eandem,[28] ipse autem citat ad infernum, posito, quod ex sibi dubio in tempore, quod ipse limitat, suus[29] spiritus fuerit[30] in inferno, sed Act. quinto[31c] dicunt apostoli[32]: obedire oportet magis deo quam hominibus.

Secundo Cristus dicitur homo mansuetissimus et maxime domesticus suis subditis ex hoc, quod iuxta dicta fuit homo humillimus. Sic enim venit Ierusalem sedens super asinam et pullum eius sine sella, dum discipuli posuerunt super ea[33] vestimenta sua et eum

[b] *cp. Matth.* 3, 13 *ff.* [c] *v.* 29

[11] symoniace *ACDδ* symoniaco *BE* [12] 2o *ABCD* 2a *δ* [13] declaret *Bδ* declararet *ACD* [14] 3o *ABCD* 3a *δ* [15] vexet *ABCDδ* vext *(sic) E* [16] anxius *ABCδ* anticristus *D* [17] contigerit *ACDδ* contingerit *B* [18] quidem *ABCδ* enim *D* [19] venit *ABCDδ,E*[1], *here a correction has taken place* vovit *E* [20] ad *ACDδ* in *B* [21] a *ABCδ* de *D* [22] citatos *ACDδ,B*[1]*(?)* wr. *into the text* citos *B* [23] et *ABC* *om. Dδ* [24] anticristi *ACDδ,B*[1] *in mar.* cristi *B* [25] non *in B in mar.* [26] possumus *ABDδ* possimis *C* [27] nos *ABδ* nobis *CD* [28] eandem *BDδ* eandum *AC* [29] suus *ACDδ* finis *B* [30] fuerit *ACDδ* fuit *B* [31] 5o *ABCD* 1o *δ* [32] dicunt apostoli *Aδ* dicente apostolo *B* dicit apostolus *CD* [33] ea *ABC* eam *Dδ*

desuper sedere fecerunt, ut patet Matth. vicesimo primo,[d] et tunc impleta est prophecia de Cristo Sachar. nono,[e] quod venit Ierusalem mansuetus. Papa autem dicitur habere[34] cardinales et familiam nimis superfluam[35] ad onus ecclesie; et illi, cum equitant, habent
|| A fol. 215d sellas splendidas || et numerum[36] famulorum et equos ac[37] mulas cum apparatu alio omnino superfluo et tam ecclesie, qua[38] propter istam superfluitatem solverit, quam loco, cui ipse advenerit, omnimode oneros[o],[39] et tamen ex fide capimus, quod Cristus in loco, cui advenerat, infinite[40] efficacius seminaverat[41] iura dei.

Cristus eciam fuit domesticus suis apostolis, quod die cene sue [illegible] implevit pelvim aqua et tunica se succinxit ac[42] lavit per ordinem pedes suorum apostolorum,[43] sed ubi mansuetudo vel domesticitas maior[44] posset esse? Papa autem dicitur monere cesares ad ducendum sibi frenum[45] tam superfluo apparatu et sedendo postmodum in solio facere magnos et dignos fideles pedes suos cum genuflexionibus osculari.[46] Sed que conveniencia Cristi ad belial?

CAP. XV.

Ultimo videtur, quod Cristus fuit summe domesticus ostendens suam inferioritatem[1] et summe fugiens lucrum seculi, papa autem videtur inter mortales candere luciferina superbia et cupiditate symoniaca.

Nam de Cristo legimus Ioh. octavo[a]: ego gloriam meam non quero, sed de papa dicitur, quod tota vita sua et gesta sunt[2] propter querendam gloriam huius mundi. Quare, rogo, propter

[d] v. 7 [e] v. 9
CAP. XV. [a] v. 50

[34] habere ABCD om. δ, comes after superfluam [35] superfluam [illegible]BCDδ supfluam A, the stroke through p is omitted by the scribe [36] numerum [illegible] BEδ mirum (!) A nimium CD [37] ac ABδ et CD [38] qua E que [illegible] BCDδ [39] omnimode onerose CDδ omnino deoneroso AB [40] infinite AE in[illegible]finitum CDδ infundabiliter B,E[1] in mar. [41] seminaverat AB seminaverit CDδ [42] ac ABδ et CD [43] apostolorum ABδ discipulorum CD [44] maior BC[illegible]!),D,E[1] in mar. amplior Aδ,E (ud.) [45] in δ frenum vel equm (the last [illegible]oo words are inserted in the text above fre.) [46] in D is add. in mar.: Pape du[illegible]ere equm et pedes osculare D[1]
CAP. XV. [1] inferioritatem BCDEδ inferioritate A [2] sunt A[illegible]CDδ sit

causam aliam consentiret vocari[3] pater sanctissimus, et per suos glosatores vocari deus mixtus, vel deus in terris, vel officium talis vicarie Cristi supra[4] omnes Cristi apostolos[5] acceptare, et de potestate incognita, concedendo privilegia et terrendo[6] inscios per fictas censuras ultra hoc, quod fecerunt Cristus et[7] sui apostoli se pompare?

Et sic ubi Cristus docet Matth. decimo[b]: gratis accepistis, gratis date, nichil datur a papa, eciam introitus ad suam locucionem,[8] nisi ematur palam vel abscondite, tacite vel expresse; et sic est de infinitis heresibus sue potestatis et operacionis,[9] quibus videtur multipliciter consentire. Quando autem papa noscit[10] et audit suos pseudoclericos dicere, quod nemo debet ipsum corripere, tunc[11] habet in scrinio sui[12] pectoris cunctas leges, et potest tam verbo quam opere cum cunctis conditis[13] legibus dispensare,[14] ymo cum lege dei ac articulis fidei, cum potest cuncta talia innovare.

Et sic dicunt sui pseudodiscipuli,[15] quod gravius est, in legem[16] suam vel precepcionem offendere[17] quam offendere in monita | Iesu Cristi, quia papa, qui peccare non poterit, gravius punit ista. || *A fol. 216a*
Potest enim quemcunque sibi contradicentem diffinire, publicare[18] esse hereticum et postmodum tractare ipsum penaliter, quomodocunque[19] ipse[20] cum suis cardinalibus[21] voluerit adoptare[22] et quantumcunque[23] inhabilem pure ex bullis suis habilitare, quod indubie, si Cristus poterit, foret personarum accepcio apud deum.

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[b] *v. 8*

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[3] vocari *ABCδ* honori *D* [4] supra *ABCD* super *δ* [5] apostolos *ABCDδ* vicarios *(ud.)* apostolos *E* [6] terrendo *ABCDδ* terrenendo *E* [7] et *AB* vel *CDδ* [8] locucionem *CDδ,E¹ in mar.* locacionem *ABE* [9] operacionis *CDEδ* opinionis *B* operonis *A (graphical error)* [10] noscit *ACDEδ* non scit *B* [11] tunc *A* cum *BCDδ* [12] sui *ABCD* suis *δ* [13] conditis *ABCD* *om. δ* [14] *in D is add. in mar.:* Dispensare cum lege *D¹* [15] sui pseudodiscipuli *AB* pseudo sui discipuli *CD* suo pseudo disc. *δ* [16] in legem *ABCD* *om. δ* [17] offendere *ABCD* suam offendere *δ* [18] publicare *ABCD* et *(corr. into the text by δ¹)* publicare *δ* [19] quomodocumque *ABDδ* quocunque *E, the compendium above* quo *has been forgotten by the copier* cum *(ud.)* quocunque modo *C* [20] ipse *ABCδ* non ipse *D* [21] cardinalibus *ABCδ* cardinalis *D* [22] adoptare *ACδ* adaptare *BD* [23] quantumcunque *ABδ* quemcunque *C* quomodocunque *D*

Multe sunt tales blasphemie, quas cecati non percipiunt, et fideles non audent, propter penam ecclesie publicare. Et sic, sicut status vel officium videtur suum superfluum,[24] sic status sectarum[25] quatuor cuiuslibet membri sui. Nam quantum ad privilegia vel opera quecunque, que fingit[26] se facere, vel sunt utilia vel nociva. Si sunt utilia, tunc sunt prius[27] racionabilia apud[28] deum, et per consequens sine empcione sue licencie factibilia[29] absque periculo. Si autem sint[30] nociva, tunc non sunt per fucum[31] sue licencie facienda.

Istas autem condiciones duodecim tetigit fidelis quidam,[c] sperans in domino, ut vel sic securius imitetur[32] Cristum et fugiat[33] anticristum. Nam fides edocet, quod nemo sequatur papam,[34] nisi de quanto ipse imitatur Iesum[35] Cristum, nec papa obedienciam vel limitacionem plurem[36] appeteret, cum fides apostoli et patens racio fidei hoc testantur.[37] Nam Ioh. decimo[d] dicit Cristus: si non facio opera patris mei, nolite michi credere, et I.[38] Cor. quarto[e] et undecimo[39 f] dicit suus apostolus[40]: imitatores mei[41] estote, sicut et ego Cristi. Nam si amplius deberet[42] aliquis cristianum[43] aliquem imitari, posset licite a Cristi vestigiis deviare.

Explicit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario anticristo.[44]

[c] *i. e. the Author of the Tract, cp. above* persona tamen hec ass[illegible]rens *cap. VII p. 671, also above p. 556* [d] *v. 37* [e] *v. 16* [f] *v. 1*

[24] officium videtur suum superfluum *ABCD* officium suum videtur sup. *δ* [25] sectarum *BCDδ* secta *A* [26] fingit *ABCDδ,E¹ in mar.* fiunt *(ud.) E* [27] prius *ABCδ* plus *D* [28] apud *ACDδ* ante *B* [29] factibilia *ABDδ* fic[illegible]bilia *C* [30] sint *Aδ* sunt *CD* sit *B* [31] fucum *ABCδ* factum *D* [32] imitetur *A C* imitentur *BDδ* [33] fugiat *B* fugiant *ACDδ* [34] papam *ABδ* man[illegible]tum *CD* [35] Iesum *ABCD* dominum Iesum *δ* [36] plurem *ABCD* plurimo *δ* [37] testantur *Aδ* testatur *BCDE* [38] 1ª *ABCD* 1° *δ* [39] 11° *ABδ* *om. CD* [40] dicit su. ap. *ABDδ* dicitur suis Apostolis *C* [41] mei *ABCDδ,E¹ in m*[illegible]*r.* dei F [42] deberet *AD(!)* debet *BCδ* debere *E* [43] cristianum *ABCD* [illegible]ristianus [44] Explicit *etc. AB* Excitlip Sutactrat de Storic. to. ous adsairouer [illegible] *C* i. e. [illegible]plicit Tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario Explibit tractatus de C[illegible]risto et adversario etc. per Iohannem de Turnow *D* Explicit de Cristo et su[illegible]o adversario anticristo. Incipit tractatus de fundacione sectarum *E* *om. δ, in* [illegible]ts stea deviare *is add.* Iohannes Wyclefficek.

XXV.

DE CONTRARIETATE DUORUM DOMINORUM,

SUARUM PARTIUM AC ETIAM REGULARUM.

E CONTRARIETATE DUOORUM DOMINORUM.

I. Division.

Thesis: In opposition to Christ the heavenly Lord there is an-her earthly lord, the Antichrist with his members, cap. I

Argument:

(a) *The struggle of Antichrist and his army against Christ and their means of war, cap. I—V*

(b) *Objections of a* frater *and their refutation, cap. VI—VIII.*

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *In opposition to Christ, the true and mighty Lord heaven, there stands a power of the abyss, Antichrist, who has like- as Christ his own law and very numerous members, p. 698. of for this thesis and etymology of Anticristus, p. 699.*

Chap. II. *Antichrist not being allowed to attack Christ the Lord, rd and fearful struggle between the members of both powers is rag- p. 699. Instead of the only true law of Christ, wrong and de- l arts, the* nigromancia *and* philomancia *have been introduced le Sects in order to win the battle, p. 700. Etymology of both s, p. 700.*

Chap. III. *The Author speaks of the effects the first of these arts produces in the Church: (1) it is said, that the endowment he Church is a holy and meritorious work, p. 700. Proof, that assertion is erroneous, p. 701—702.*

Chap. IV. (2) It is said that the engagements entered into by the temporal lords for fitting out the clergy with temporal riches, must unconditionally be kept, p. 703. Refutation of this assertion, p. 703—704.

Chap. V. The four Sects the introduction of which is spoken of as a good and meritorious work, p. 704, before all others take upon themselves the defence of these theses, p. 704. But it must be said that their introduction is wrong, p. 704, as the teaching of Christ plainly shows, p. 704. The head of the Sects endeavour to seduce all believing christians away from the Gospel truth, p. 705.

Chap. VI—VIII. In connection with this opposition between the members of Christ and Antichrist is the assertion of a frater, *that the old and common division of the Militant Church into three parts is not correct, p. 705, for women and children are not included in it, p. 707—708, and the clergy must be considered as* laboratores, *p. 708. — Refutation by the Author of all these objections on the ground of reason and Holy Scripture (Gal. III; Luke XI; Matth. XII; Eph. I; Rom. XIII; Matth. XXII), p. 708—709. — Excursus on the relation of the Mendicant Friars to this old traditional division, on their foundation and the many evils, which have befallen the Church in consequence of their introduction, p. 710. From all this, it is evident, that they are with their head superfluous and ought to be done away with, p. 711—712.*

III. Date of Composition.

There is only an argumentum e silentio from which the date of the Tract may eventually be inferred. It is curious to see that [illegible] *Wicli in the list of the heresies of the Mendicants with which the Tract* [illegible] *win up, does not mention the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation* [illegible] *ich otherwise is his main reproach against them in his polemical* [illegible] *riti Also from the slight hints at an English translation of the* [illegible] *e* [illegible] *which may be inferred from the passages* libri ewangelici [illegible] *p. p. 711, as well as from the persecution of the* sacerdotes fidele[illegible]s *a direct and conclusive date camot be inferred. I leave the* [illegible] *date of this present Tract uncertain.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Wiclif-Catalogue of the Vienna codd., see above p. LIX ff.

(2) Bale, Summarium fol. 157ᵃ.

(3) Shirley, Catal. No. 83 p. 27.

(4) Lechler, J. v. W. 568.

(b) Internal evidence:

(1) see above General Introd. V, e.

(2) a number of thoughts peculiar to Wiclif and often made use of by him in his polemical writings, are here repeated in a manner that there cannot be any doubt as to the genuineness of the Tract, cp. for instance, cap. VII, commencement with De Fund. Sect.; p. 709 below with ibidem.

V. *Not printed heretofore.*

VI. *Extant only in cod. Ashburnham XXVII. c. fol. 43ᵃ—48ᵇ; printed from the copy kindly lent me by F. D. Matthew, Esq. of London. Matthew has also done the collation, and I have every reason to rely on his conscientiousness. Whether any Correctors and Glossers have been at work on the Tract, is not shown by Matthew's copy.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE CONTRARIETATE DUORUM DOMINORUM.

CAP. I.

|| *Ash fol. 43a lin. 3* || Sicut est unus verus et summus dominus in celis re|sidens, qui est trinitas increata, sic est unus | falsus et infimus dominus, qui est sathan residens | in abysso. Nam fides scripture Ioh. 14[a] vocat eum principem huius mundi, et Iob 41[b]: rex super omnes filios superbie. Et sicut princeps vel rex licet false nuncupatur, sic potest ad sensum similem dominus nuncupari.

Habent autem hii duo domini legem duplicem, membra duplicia seu tenentes. Lex autem dei et membra seu tenentes Cristi sunt lex scripture et predestinati ad gloriam; sed lex dyaboli et membra sua sunt lex scripture contraria et presciti ad poenam perpetuam.

Et sicut hii domini sunt condicionis contrarie, sic leges eorum et sua corpora sive membra. Sed cum 'super omnia vincit veritas', necesse est primum verum dominum secundum putativum falsum cum suis appendiciis superare. Et sic necesse est solum unum esse dominum, qui de domino superiori non teneat, et porcionaliter dicendum est de sua familia atque lege.

Habet autem lex scripture et per consequens membra paucos fautores hodie vel tenentes. Lex autem dyaboli

CAP. I. [a] *v. 30* [b] *v. 25*

multos fautores et per consequens membra anticristi multiplicia vel tenentes.

Dicitur autem anticristus ex triplici significacione famosa: primo pro capitali dyabolo, qui sathan dicitur sive lucifer, de summa ierarchia celesti, in bonitate nature precipuus inter omnes dyabolos, qui ex superbia ceciderunt. Et sicut deus habet in terris humanitatem Cristi suum verum vicarium, sic iste dyabolus habet in terris suum vicarium, qui ad secundum sensum dicitur anticristus. Tercio vero modo potest quodcunque membrum dyaboli dici dyabolus ac eciam anticristus. Sicut enim membra Cristi dicuntur nuncupative propter inhabitacionem et conformitatem animi ipse Cristus, sic membra dyaboli propter assimilacionem dicuntur dyabolus ac eciam anticristus. Sic enim veritas de Iuda Scariothis loquitur: nonne ego duodecim vos elegi, et unus ex vobis dyabolus est, Ioh. 6?[c] Et I Joh. 2 scribitur[d]: Et sicut audistis, quia anticristus venit, nunc anticristi multi facti sunt.

Et concordat interpretacio cum ista sentencia. Dicitur enim anticristus ab anti, quod est contra, et Cristus, quasi contra Cristum, sicut oportet esse omne membrum dyaboli. Unde I Joh. 4[e] sic scribitur: omnis spiritus, qui solvit Iesum, || ex deo non est; || *Ash fol. 43b* et hic est anticristus, de quo audistis, quoniam venit et nunc iam in mundo est.

CAP. II.

Sed quia anticristus non potest Iesum Cristum quoad suam propriam substanciam impugnare, nititur contra Cristum in membris suis agere, que sunt partes ecclesie, et in lege.

Nam in ista hora novissima sunt multi anticristi legem domini impugnantes, ut hii blasphemant, quod lex scripture est falsissima in mundo. Et hoc machinatus est dyabolus, ut regula catholica auctoritate et amore deficiat cristianis. Nam si lex ewangelica sic falsa, viantes naturaliter ipsam negant, odiunt et per consequens auctoritatem eius in suo regimine parvi pendunt.

[c] *v. 70* [d] *v. 18* [e] *v. 3*

Secunda pars scole dyaboli introducit multas leges absconditas, legi domini repugnantes, cuiusmodi sunt nigromancia et philomancia, quas dicitur hodie esse a fratribus introductas.

Et dicitur nigromancia a nigros, quod est mortuum, et mancia, quod est sciencia, quia sciencia de mortuis suscitata, modo, quo dicitur I Reg. 28[a] quandam phitonissam Sauli suscitasse spiritum Samuelis. Nec dubium, ut docet Augustinus, quin dyabolus hic respondit. Et ipse est primus mortuus spiritus. Et ideo istam artem nigromanticam secundum quandam excellenciam dicitur sibi vendicare.

Dicitur autem philomancia a philos, quod est amor, et mancia, quasi sciencia amorem mulieris vel viri illicite acquirendi. Et istam scienciam dicitur fratres multipliciter practizare.

Nec dubium, quin quelibet talis ars dyabolica diminuit viatoribus noticiam divine sciencie, et sic potest dici sciencia anticristi. Et sicut dyabolus est falsus iuxta dicta in principio, sic necesse est, istam dyabolicam scienciam esse falsam. Potest autem dyabolus semel vel aliquociens dicere suis discipulis veritatem, ut seducat eos copiosius postmodum plus nocive.

Et extendendo nomen nigromancie potest quelibet ars falsa vel non fundata in lege domini ars nigromantica bene dici. Et sic pseudopredicantes vel practizantes in lege papali vel alia lege hominum, in lege domini non fundata, possunt nigromantici vere dici, quia omnes illi discunt et practizant legem mortuam ex instinctu dyaboli. Et patet, quomodo multi nigromantici et anticristi discipuli sunt in mundo.

| Ash fol. 44a Sed absit, dyabolum et membra sua ad || tantum contra Cristum, qui est verus dominus, prevalere, quod faciat comburi codices de lege domini et has artes dyaboli prepollere! Lingwa enim, sive hebrea, sive greca, sive latina, sive anglica, est quasi habitus legis domini. Et per quemcunque talem habitum eius sentencia magis vere cognoscitur a fideli, ipse est codex plus racionabiliter acceptandus. Lingwa enim tam in via quam patria a sentencia

CAP. II. [a] Cp. I Sam. 28, 12 ff.

.ege domini est remota, cum in penam peccati superbie edificium turrim Babel est divisio lingwarum a deo et per dyabo-ı introducta.

CAP. III.

Restat parumper videre, quomodo hec ars nigromantica sedu-t plurimos in ecclesia militante.

Est autem infamis binarius,[a] in quo multi philocapti a secta lege domini sunt seducti. — Arguunt enim quidam ydiote per tam artem, quod dotacio in ecclesia fuit sancte et meritorie in-oducta, quia papa Silvester, multi sancti episcopi et abbates ista otacione usi fuerant et approbative ipsam acceptaverant, ergo bene.

Sed ad declarandum fallaciam huius argucie nigromantice portet capere tamquam fidem, quod non sequitur de aliquo apo-tolo: ipse sic et sic fecerat, ergo bene, nisi additur minori, quod ı sic faciendo secutus fuerit dominum Iesum Cristum. Cristus nim est principium et coraula cuiuscunque operis meritorii membri ui, cum modo mirabili ducit patres legis veteris per viam domini d patriam incedentes.

Oportet ergo fundare in fide, quod iste pape, episcopi et ab-ates in approbando dotacionem talem secuti fuerant dominum esum Cristum; et tunc bene sequitur, quod bene et meritorie sic ecerunt.

Sed cum in Cristo non fuerant est et non, ut patet II Cor. 1,[b] ristus autem secundum legem suam duplicem prohibuit clericos uos sic dotari, et in persona propria ac suis apostolis hoc serva-rit, manifestum est, quod pars sibi contraria per anticristum fuerat ntroducta. Sicut ergo non sequitur: Petrus, Paulus, filii Zebedei t Scarioth sic fecerunt, ergo relinquitur cristianis ad imitacionem orum taliter faciendum, ita non sequitur: isti vocati sancti sic erunt, ergo bene, nisi docto, quod in hoc secuti fuerant domi-m Iesum Cristum.

CAP. III. [a] *This* binarius *is being treated of by the Author in this and the following chapter* [b] *v. 19*

Sic enim nigromanticus posset fundare fallaciter, quod cris- nus debet cum iuramento falso negare dominum Iesum Crist quia Petrus sic fecerat,[c] qui istis sanctis propinquius secutus fue
Ash fol. 44b salvatorem. || Sed certum est, quod non in hoc secutus fuerat ve tatem. — Et eodem modo dicitur de Paulo, qui profitetur I Tim 1,[d] quod contra dominum blasphemavit. De filiis autem Zebed patet Matth. 20,[e] quomodo per matrem suam primatum illicite ca piebant. — Et omnes isti apostoli nobis incognite istas tres per sonas et cunctos patronos novellorum ordinum excedebant. De Scarioth autem patet ex ewangelio, quod secutus fuerat Cristum incessu pedum, ymo, ut multis placet, probabiliter ad tempus se- cundum presentem iusticiam in moribus secutus fuerat hunc ma- gistrum.

Erubescat igitur philocaptus ex illicito amore temporalium de argucia ista nigromantica: pape, episcopi et abbates, qui reputan- tur sancti, sic fecerant, ergo bene, cum de Petro et aliis sanctis non sequitur, quos tamen ex fide tenemur credere nunc beatos. Istos autem credunt, qui voluerint, esse sanctos evidenciis topicis citra fidem.

Ideo patet, quod ista argucia anticristi deficit tam in materia quam in forma. In materia quidem, quia accipit apocrifa swasa ex evidenciis vocatis miraculis tamquam fidem; et in forma deficit, quia non annectit medium nec potest probare ipsum, per quod con- clusio probaretur, scilicet quod dicti sancti in hoc, quod inhiarunt ad temporalia, secuti fuerant dominum Iesum Cristum.

CAP. IV.

Ex istis patet luce clarius intuentibus veritatem, quomodo ar gucia ista nigromantica non seduceret fideles aliquos per errorem legis domini ad credendum, quod stat cum illa sacerdotes Crist hereditarie sic ditari. Ideo restat recitare secundam[a] infamem ar guciam, per quam arguit anticristus, quod clerici Cristi taliter sunt ditandi.

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[c] *cp. Matth. 26, 69 ff.* [d] *v. 13* [e] *v. 20 ff.*
CAP. IV. [a] *Cp. above cap. III p. 701*

Arguit enim ex iuramento et fide elemosinaria dominorum, quod necesse est, ipsos servare pactum, quod cum clero pepigerant, quia aliter, ut fingit, forent animarum suorum progenitorum infidelissimi proditores, ac si blasphemarent in Cristum, quod ipse fuisset in arte amandi stultissimus et ingratus. Carte, inquiunt, concesse de perpetua elemosina sunt implende. Sed idem est procuratorem dyaboli sic arguere, ac si intenderit, si quis iuraverit, se occidere fratrem suum vel aliquod facinus pro parte dyaboli contra dominum perpetrare, ex fide sua de servando iuramentum tenetur, illud facinus adimplere. Et sic racione dyaboli tenetur manere perpetuo in suo crimine contra Cristum.

Sed quis fidelis non erubesceret istam arguciam, cum fideliter inferatur oppositum, subducta philomantica arte infideli? Unde ewangelista || docet in fine sue tercie epistole filios suos carissimos a filar- || *Ash fol. 45a*
giria precavere[b], hoc est ab amore illicito terrenorum. Cristus autem ex fide docet artem amandi perfectissimam. Ipse autem dicit Ioh. 13[c]: mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut et ego dilexi vos, ut et vos diligatis invicem, quasi diceret: hoc mandatum de dileccione do vobis noviter, ut vos diligatis ad invicem, secundum formam, qua ego diligo apostolos meos, quam ego practizavi in illis tam opere quam sermone. Aliter enim non est vera dileccio, sed odium philomanticum, quod dyabolus introduxit.

De dileccione autem Cristi legimus Matth. 20[d], quod ipse negavit cognatis suis filiis Zebedei primatum mundanum, ut sedere ad dextram suam et sinistram, sed concessit eis paupertatem ewangelicam et instar sui bibere passionem. Calicem, inquit[e], meum bibetis. Et vel oportet concedere, quod Cristus fuit ingratus suis cognatis vel impotens, vel ex sinceritate amoris illis concesserat istud bonum. Ideo sequendo amorem Cristi, ut quilibet cristianus tenetur ex fide, factis cartis talibus vel iuramentis illicitis tenetur fidelis ipsa festinanter disrumpere et legi domini obedire.

Carte enim iste infideles non sunt ewangelium, sed patenter heretice contra ipsum. Ideo si secundum legem humanam non

[b] *the quotation is not accurate, cp. Luke 12, 15* [c] *v. 34* [d] *v. 21 ff.*
[e] *vgl. Matth. 20, 22*

valet donacio nisi habita licencia domini capitalis, patenter convincitur, quod non valet aliqua talis donacio nisi prehabita dei licencia, qui est dominus dominorum.

Nam ex fide convincitur, quod aliter non foret elemosina vel opus licitum, sed facinus illicitum anticristi. Ideo ostencio cartarum talium ostendit, quod tam concedentes quam admittentes sunt discipuli anticristi.

Et patet, quod sicut argucia prior[f] fundatur in errore hominum contra Cristum, sic et ista secunda[g] argucia fundatur in errore, quam anticristi discipulus nititur per racionem nigromanticam stabilire.

CAP. V.

Restat videre, quomodo iste secte quatuor et religiones nove in ecclesiam introducte in eodem errore nigromantico sunt fundate.

Arguunt enim, quod secte iste sunt bone et licite, quia a tam piis patronis ordinum stabilite. Quis enim negaret ordinaciones
Ash fol. 45b istorum || sanctorum, Benedicti, Dominici et Francisci, et specialiter in isto, quo secundum tot sanctos ecclesiam ornaverunt.

Sed sicut superius[a] dictum est, oportet ad rectificandum istam arguciam capere in minore, quod dicti patroni in ordinando sectas huiusmodi non erraverunt, sed secuti fuerunt dominum Iesum Cristum. — Quod est multis incredibile ex duobus: primo quia Cristus fuit de eleccione duodecim apostolorum contentatus, isti autem patroni excellunt multos duodenarios, ac si anticristus vellet ipsos extollere supra Cristum. Unde novas regulas et novos habitus possident tamquam hereditarie, ac si regula Cristi et sua ordinacio fuerint incomplete. Unde Cristus, ymo tota trinitas, limitavit suo ordini, quod dicti sui discipuli per magnam partem habitabilis, non servata hodierna regula circumirent, ut patet de Petro Act. 10.[b] Unde quod apostolus Paulus non audebat per se tales sectas colligere, ut patet I Cor. 1 et 3,[c] dat fidelibus ev... dencian quod vel iste tres patroni stolide presumpserunt, et sic in fundar...

[f] see above p. 701 [g] see above p. 703

CAP. V. [a] See above p. 701 [b] 34 ff. [c] cp. 1, ... 0 ff.

tales ordines peccaverunt, vel quod iste secte ab institucione pura domini, quam patroni docuerant, paulative secundum quod dyabolus eos instigaverat, erraverunt.

Doce tu, si sciveris, quod isti patroni in isto secuti fuerant dominum Iesum Cristum, et docere potes faciliter hoc secundum; nec sequitur maius inconveniens, quod isti patroni ignari et stolidi erraverunt, quam quod Petrus et ceteri apostoli a maiori gracia ceciderunt.

Unde videtur, quod non sit pocior evidencia, quod iste secte in sanctitate superant sectam Cristi, nisi quia in largitate habitus ypocrisis est celata.

Et sic dyabolus per has sectas novellas personas in illis obligatas ad tartara insensibilius et cautelosius introducit. Unde inclusa heresis in istis religionibus ex necessitate malicie prorumpebat, quando magnificaverant istas sectas supra sectam domini Iesu Cristi, ac si innuerent, quod ille patronus fuerit stolidus, sed sui patroni, licet ydiotici, in hoc fuerant periti et sancti.

Ex talibus mediis hic breviter inculcatis potest fidelis capere evidenciam ad magnificandum sectam Cristi, ad quam evidenciam omnes nigromantici nesciunt respondere. Fidelis ergo ex amore ad Cristum iuxta fidem catholicam || ipsum extolleret supra ipsos. || *Ash fol. 46a*

CAP. VI.

Restat videre obiectus quosdam, quos frater quidam nigromanticus facit contra tres partes ecclesie militantis, scilicet clericorum, secularium dominorum et wlgarium laborantum.[a]

Divisio, inquit, ista est insufficiens, cum femine sunt partes ecclesie et ipse non sunt aliqua istarum trium parcium. —

Sed hic suppono huic nigromantico fidem scripture et eius metaphysicam, que in subtilitate et utilitate est supra suam nigromanciam. Et tunc concedo sufficienciam divisionis predicte ecclesie militantis, et concedo sibi ulterius, quod femine sunt partes eiusdem ecclesie, quod nescio vel perfunctorie fundare de fratribus, ymo si novit

CAP. VI. [a] *With ref. to this, cp. above p. 654*

fidem scripture, eadem ecclesia est mulier fortis, ut patet Prov. ultimo.[b] Et cum hoc est, vir unus iuxta illud Porfirii[c] participacione speciei plures homines sunt unus homo; et melius fuisset illi fratri ac pertinencius studuisse ysagogas Porfirii quam nigromanciam dyaboli.

Et ut stulticia ydiote magis appareat, suppono sibi, quod tota personalitas hominis servatur in spiritu. Aliter enim nec Cristus descenderet ad inferna nec sancti, quos colimus, habitarent modo in patria. Ex qua fide patet, quod omnes femine predestinate sunt beat(e)[1] pro suo tempore, cum secundum apostolum ad Gal. 3[d] non est sexus distinccio apud deum; nam ista persona est animus et cum hoc anima, sicut deus est deitas et cum hoc pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. Unde ipse foret ydiota nimis mendicus in scriptura, qui istam metaphysicam ignoraret. Numquid credimus, spiritus sanctus intellexit personam femine cum persona masculi, quando dixit: beati, qui audiunt verbum dei et custodiunt illud Luc. 11[e] et Marc. ultimo[f]: qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit? Et Matth. 12[g] dicit Cristus: quicunque, inquit, fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse meus frater, soror et mater est. — Numquid credimus, fratres posse per suam nigromanciam tales scripturas domini viciare? Unde post auctores scripture fuerunt tam greci quam latini de ista logica contentati. Unde in simbolo Athanasii[2] sic habetur: quicunque wlt salvus esse etc., quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus
|| *Ash fol. 46b* esse non poterit. || Numquid credimus, hoc simbolum excipere mulieres a fide vel beatitudine? Constat scientibus alfabetum fidei scripture, quod ignorancia ydiotica foret, nigromanticum taliter opinari.

Sed ulterius accedendo ad fratris stulticiam suppono sibi fidem scripture ad Eph. 1[h]: ipsum dedit caput super omnem ecclesiam,

[b] *v. 10 ff.* [c] *cp. Porphyrii Introductio cum aliis commentariis ed. Venet. 1562, De Genere cap. 2 vol. I, 2b. Cp. a...* Trial. 7
[d] *v. 28* [e] *v. 28* [f] *v. 16* [g] *v. 50* [h] *v. 22*

CAP. VI. [1] beati *MS.* [2] attanasii *MS.*

que est corpus eius. Ex quo palam sequitur, quod tres tercie[i] militantis ecclesie sunt eciam singula unum corpus et ultra patet, quod quelibet illarum parcium est secundum partem digniorem masculus, clericus, secularis dominus vel operarius. Et per consequens iste tres partes ecclesie sunt tales, quales in principio sunt descripte. Sicut enim Ethiops est albus secundum dentes, sic fratres sunt heretici secundum partes prescitas, liberales sciencias ignorantes. Adhuc enim alii heretici non impugnant grammaticam fidei scripture, sed illa supposita ascendunt ad logicam nigromanticam, hoc est dyabolicam, ipsam, ut putant, heretice impugnando. Nec vidi textum vel racionem pro ista demencia coloranda nisi istam Decretalem 'omnis utriusque sexus'[k], ubi videtur papam debere loqui conformiter ad scripturam, quod omnis viator debet semel in anno omnia peccata sua sacerdoti proprio confiteri, nisi forte, quia voluit utrumque sexum in ista decretali tam necessaria expressisse. Sed grama*(t)*ici[3] cum adiutorio logicorum impugnant hanc legem, dicentes, quod solum pro *(h)*erm*(aph)*roditis[4] de virtute vocabuli fuit facta.

Et per hec patet responsio ad secundam arguciam, qua arguitur divisionis insufficiencia ex hoc, quod infantes baptizati in proximo morituri non sunt de aliqua parte ecclesie nominata, et tamen sunt membra ecclesie, cum sint predestinati, ergo divisio incompleta. Et forte frater fecit istam arguciam, quia nullus eorum scit fundare, quod ipsi sunt aliqua pars ecclesie militantis. Tales autem infantes, cum sint predestinati, sunt Cristi milites ac eciam sacerdotes et meritorie laborantes: quomodo ergo non sunt in aliqua parte ecclesie nominata, cum extendendo terminum sunt in qualibet trium parcium ecclesie supradicta? Nec est inconveniens, sed consonum, quod dicta ecclesia habet solum unam partem, scilicet militantes, solum duas partes, scilicet contemplativos et activos, et sic quotquot volueris limitare, sicut mandatorum decalogus || est solum unus, quia dileccio, ut dicit apostolus Rom. 13[l], et solum || *Ash fol. 47a*

[i] *cp. above p. 706 l. 2* [k] *cp. Corp. iur. can. ed. Leipzig 1879 II, 887; Decr. Greg. IX, l. V, tit. XXXVIII, cap. XII, De Poenit. et Remissionibus* [l] *v. 9*

[3] gramadici *MS.* [4] ermofroditis *MS*

duo, quia dileccio dei et proximi: in his enim duobus mandatis universa lex pendet et prophete, ut docet Cristus Matth. 22[m]. Nam, ut docet Averroes[5][n], si frater cognoverit, totum est sue partes, ex quo secuntur conclusiones multe sibi incognite, licet in sua arte nigromantica non fuerint expressate.

CAP. VII.

Sed tercio instatur, quod membra divisionis coincidunt, cum secundum fantasiam meam clerici debent ex lege domini laborare; et per consequens stat, simul aliquas personas ecclesie esse clericos et milites ac eciam laborantes. Paulus enim solempnis episcopus suis manibus laboravit, ut patet Act. 20.[a]

Sed hic dicitur concedendo, quod membra ista coincidunt, licet raciones habeant impermixtas; ideo probabiliter creditur, quod magna pars fratrum debet esse de tercia parte ecclesie laborantes. Nam ex eorum presumpta stulticia est tercia pars ecclesie in cultoribus et operariis diminuta.

Et si obicitur, quod eadem est obieccio contra me ipsum, dicitur, quod ex gracia deo elegi illam partem ecclesie, quam dominus approbavit, et voluntatem habeo laborandi in dei servicio conformiter illi parti. Sed nec fratres sciunt fundare, quod ex ordinacione domini debent esse partes ecclesie militantis, nec sciunt nisi per blasphemum mendacium fundare, quod debeant taliter mendicare. Ideo habent nimis debile fundamentum. Unde aliquid Cristus docuit opere et sermone et aliquid taciturnitate; opere docuit, quod sacerdotes sunt acucius arguendi, quando intrando in templum eiecit vendentes et ementes in illo, ut patet Ioh. 2[b] et Matth. 21.[c] Aliquid autem docuit viva voce, sicut patet ex doctrina sua ewangelica, quam habemus. Omissione vero docuit, tres sectas religiosorum, que erant in suo tempore, cessaturas, ut

[m] *v. 40* [n] *cp. Averroes, Comment. in Arist. op., ed. Venet. 1562. Comment. in Metaph. VII cap. 3; vol. VIII, 162 ff.*

CAP. VII. [a] *v. 34* [b] *v. 15* [c] *v. 12 ff.*

[5] averroys *MS.*

Phariseos, Sadduceos et Esseos. Ymo breviter ex fide capimus, quod omnes acciones Cristi et eius omissiones sunt plene salubri sentencia et figura.

Illa autem, que erant magis necessaria et sponse Cristi magis utilia, clarius expressavit, ut doctrina suorum sacerdotum, cuiusmodi erant apostoli, et in ipsa doctrinam aliorum sacerdotum, qui post ipsos in ecclesia sequerentur. Statum autem dominorum secularium expressavit per hoc, quod dedit tributum cesari, ut patet Matth. 17[d]; et per Joseph ab Armathia, decurionem nobilem, voluit sepeliri, ut patet Matth. 27.[e] Et sic approbavit sexum femineum multis modis, cum accepit elemosinas a sanctis feminis, Luc. 8[f] et illis post recurrecionem primo voluit apparere, ut patet Marc. ultimo[g] et Ioh. 20.[h]

Approbavit eciam terciam partem ecclesie, dum manserat cum Zacheo Luc. 19[i] et Ma*(tth.)*[1] 9.[k] De sacerdotibus autem templi non lego, quod cum ipsis manducavit, vel innuitive, insin || uative, vel || *Ash fol. 47b* expressa voce statum eorum aliqualiter approbavit.

De fratribus autem vel statibus novellis, qui postmodum in ecclesia succreverunt, non lego, quod ipsos aliqualiter approbavit, nisi forte dicatur, quod Cristus ipsos ex sua omnisciencia reprobavit, ut Matth. 7[l]: attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces, a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos, et Matth. 24[m]: surgent pseudocristi et pseudoprophete et seducent multos, et II Cor. 11[n]: periculum in falsis fratribus.

Unde iste secte non possunt subterfugere, quin Cristus reprobative de istis loquitur, si vivunt taliter, qualiter in ewangelio describuntur. Cristus enim auctor nature voluit naturalem significanciam termini propter tales sectas sine sua licencia subintrantes in ecclesiam subticere.

Unde dicitur communiter et catholice, quod dupliciter dicuntur aliqui in fide scripture verbaliter nominari, scilicet specialiter, ut

[d] *v. 24 ff.* [e] *v. 57 ff.* [f] *v. 2—3* [g] *v. 1; 4* [h] *v. 1; 14*
[i] *v. 5—6* [k] *v. 10 ff.* [l] *v. 15* [m] *v. 24* [n] *v. 26*

CAP. VII. [1] Marc. *MS.*

patet de Petro et ceteris et generaliter, ut patet de fidelibus sacerdotibus sectam suam pure tenentibus, a qua vocali nominacione secte quatuor cognite sunt exempte. Ideo vivat sacerdos legi Cristi conformiter, et audeo dicere, quod in verbis applicatis apostolis statum suum Cristus, licet generaliter, limitavit.

Doceant ergo fratres, secundum ysagogas Porfirii[o] vel artem suam nigromanticam, quod Cristus statum suum aliqualiter approbavit, et tunc de tanto et non amplius sunt fundandi.

Ideo erubescant nigromantici arguere quod, status individuus sacerdotis non plus quam status generalis religiosi hodie introductus est a domino approbatus, quia sacerdotes docere possunt, quomodo status suus generalis, licet in multis degenerent a domino, approbatur, sed iste secte nec possunt individua nec genera suorum statuum invenire.

Ideo dicunt quidam, quod Cristus numquam generaliter vel specialiter de ipsis recoluit nisi forte reprobative ex hoc, quod est omnisciens, cum Matth. 25[p] in forma fatuarum virginem de ipsis loquitur: amen dico vobis, nescio vos.

Ista pauca nunciative dixerim, ut veritas scripture occasionaliter plus lucescat.

CAP. VIII.

Ex istis colligitur condicio istarum novarum sectarum, cum tamquam fures abscondite in ecclesiam introducte impugnant fideles precipue de heresi, sicut latrunculi in noctibus imponunt fidelibus, quod ab eis tales cogniti sunt latrones. Maniaci quidem reputant alios esse tales.

| *Ash fol. 48a* Ducunt autem ex sua mania nigromantica plebeos in hanc | heresim, quod lex Cristi est falsa et ad regimen ecclesie insufficiens, nisi quod per ipsos et suum regimen est adiuta. Et ista cum suis sequentibus est heresis manifesta. —

Dicunt secundo, quod religio pura Cristi non est ita perfecta sicut religio sua, in tempore, quo solutus est sathanas, mendicata. —

[o] *cp. above cap. VI note c* [p] *v. 12*

Et tercio ex isto principio furantur pueros, spoliant egenos et mille meandris lacerant legem Cristi. Ista autem heresis cum suis appendiciis non est minus priori heresi triumphanti ecclesia manifesta.

Et ex istis quarto germinant alie hereses nocive ecclesie militanti, scilicet quod plus necessarium est et meritorium conferre illis elemosinas Cristi pauperibus limitatas, quam dare illas elemosinas eis, quibus multipliciter Cristus eas limitavit.

Et ex istis quinto crescit monstrositas in numero et qualitatibus personarum, in construccione domorum[a] et aliorum ornamentorum, tam in indumentis et aliis apparatibus, ut magis appareant sancti ecclesie militanti. Et ut breviter dicatur, per suam ypocrisim tota militans ecclesia patitur discrasiam.

Et ex istis sexto inferunt, cum habent corda dominorum et dominarum in suis manibus, quod libri ewangelici et sensus catholici declarati populo comburantur et libri artis sue nigromantice ac philomantice per magnates ecclesie defendantur. Et sic supponitur, quod in brevi tempore nova facient omnia in ecclesia militante, nisi deus miraculose contra eas ordinaverit remedium speciale. Et tamen tota malicia eorum per latitudinem sui habitus et suam ypocrisim populo est celata.

Et sic septimo nutriunt dominos, dominas et potentes propter pauca spolia in suo facinore contra Cristum et sacerdotes pauperes et fideles usque ad mortem atrociter persecuntur, et sic tamquam in bello inter Gelvos et Gibilanos dividunt totam militantem ecclesiam. Nec dubium, quin contra legem domini corpus ecclesie militantis commovent et conturbant.

Et iste est finis divisionis sue ripinice,[1] quem faciunt pre- ando et multiplicacionis religionis sue et secte, quas contra domi- n introduxerunt. Nec cessabit ista divisio anticristi a commi- ione unitatis et pacis Cristi ecclesie, antequam Cristi ecclesia

CAP. VIII. [a] *Cp. above p. 47 note, also p. 69; 135; 143*

CAP. VIII. [1] *Thus the MS. reads, perhaps for* rabbinice, *cp. Matthew, E. W., p. 532 and cod. Ash fol. 75:* fratres predicant verba ficta et poemata …isata.

inter hereticos insensibiliter sit divisa. Cessant enim in secunda pace et non dicunt terciam pacem in opere, sed bella, dissensiones[2] et spoliaciones pauperum fraudulentas, ex quibus est multis veri- || *Ash fol. 48b* simile, quod sunt procuratores patuli anticristi. || Cristus enim amavit unitatem et pacem, et pro ipsa sustinuit diram mortem. Anticristus autem e contra amat divisionem et separacionem in sectis et pro hoc fine procuratores plurimos subdole machinantur; nec cessabit innovacio ista zizanica, antequam deus ex sua gracia expulsis istis radicibus per noticiam sue legis ad antiquam reduxerit suam ecclesiam unionem.

Unde quidam eliciunt ex signo triplici, quod est dyabolica divisio in hiis sectis; primo ex hoc, quod carent fundacione in racionibus vivacibus vel scriptura. Et vel oportet negare deitatis Cristi omnipotenciam ac omniscienciam vel dicere, quod causa necessitatis inducendi istos ordines vel pateat in racionibus, vel pateat aut lateat in thesauro dyaboli per tempus, quo regnaverat Iesus Cristus. Et quodlibet ipsorum est infamis heresis deridenda. Nec est racio, quare Cristus per mille annos et amplius claret sue ecclesie istam causam et pro tempore, quo suscitatus fuit dyabolus, patefaceret istas sectas, specialiter cum iste secte deviant tantum ab ordinacione et regula dei.

Secundum signum est, quod iste secte religionum novarum instar peccancium sunt contrarie sibi ipsis. Nam una pars potencior contradicit alteri, et una antiquior imponit repugnanciam alteri sequenti, quia, ut vere inquit, posset stare ecclesia in statu prospero, si priores eius partes redacte fuerint ad regulam, quam Cristus instituit. Ideo non est racio, quare secta sequens non repugnat tamquam contraria ecclesie militanti, et sic prior secta fert moleste, quod secta consequens sit in ecclesiam introducta.

Nec est facile solvere istas evidencias debite prosecutas, nam opera dei sunt sic perfecta, quod non est aliquod individuum vel pars eorum, quin fiat ex patenti causa et certissima racione.

Tercium autem signum superfluitatis istarum sectarum et vit culpabilis statui in isto, quod omnes ille dimittunt regulam domi

[2] discensiones *MS.*

plus perfectam, plus facilem, et plus undique ecclesie prodessentem et induunt sectam infundabilem condicionis contrarie, quam necesse est in processu temporis ab hominibus varie confirmari.

Deus igitur reducat ad concordiam et unitatem armonicam omnes partes ecclesie militantis, a*(b)*radatqu*(e)*[3] ab ea superflua, contraria et nociva; quia sic est in superiori triumphante ecclesia exemplante.

Explicit tractatus de contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum parcium ac eciam regularum.

[3] alradat quia *MS.*

XXVI.

QUATUOR IMPRECACIONES.[1]

[2] Quod clerus regni Anglie[3] secundum ordinacionem, quam || Cristus clero | suo instituit,[4] reguletur; aliter enim non[5] foret dictus clerus ecclesia Cristi, sed sinagoga sathane. *C fol. 1 lin. 17*

Quod[6] dictus clerus nec pape[7] nec | alicui[8] prelato obediat, nisi de quanto consonat legi Cristi. Patet, quia[9] Cristus non potuit aliam obedienciam vendicare; et qui in hoc[10] extollitur super[11] Cristum, est patulus anticristus.

[1] Quat. imprec. *CHOl* de quatuor imprecacionibus *EJK* Explicit responsio ad argucias monachales Sequitur de 4 imprecacionibus *F*. *As to the genuineness of this short fragment, cp. Shirley, Catal. p. 29 No. 93* [2] *cod. E fol. 96^d F fol. 24^b H fol. 83^b J fol. 30^c K fol. 107^b Ol Tract No. 25* [3] Anglie *CEFJK* cuiuscunque *HOl* [4] cl. s. instituit *CFHOl* cl. s. instituerit *E* instituit c. s. *J,K transposed by marks* [5] non *CFHJKOl,E*[1] *in mar. om. E* [6] Quod *CEFJK* Item quod *Ol* Item quod .... Item quod *(sic) H* [7] pape *CEHJKOl* papa *F* [8] alicui *CEFJK* alteri *HOl* [9] quia *CFHJKOl,E*[1] *in mar.* quod *(cr. out) E* [10] hoc *CEFHOl* hac *JK* [11] super *CEFHK* supra *JOl*

Quod[12] nullus clerus de Anglia[13] habeat pertinens[14] suo statui dominium seculare in proprio vel in communi. Patet, quod[15] Cristus sic ordinavit pro suo clero, ut patet ex testimonio duplicis testamenti.

Quod[16] fratres non defendantur a dominis[17] regni tamquam eius incole, antequam pro suo peccato in regnum[18] Anglie[19] satisfiat.[20] Patet racionabilitas[21] ex fide scripture.[22]

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[12] Quod *CEFJK* Item quod *HOl* [13] de Angl. *CEFJKOl* *om.* *H* [14] pertinens *CFHJOl* impertinens *EK* [15] quod *CEFJK* quia *HOl* [16] Quod *CEFK* Item quod *HOl* [17] a dominis *FHJKOl* ad onus *(?)CE* [18] regnum *CHJKOl* regno *EF* [19] Anglie *CEFJK* bohemie *Ol* Ra^e^ *(not* bo^e^ *i. e.* bohemie) *H*[1], *is filled by another hand into the blank which first had been left* [20] satisfiat *CEFHJOl* satisfiant *K* satisfaciant *J* *in mar. without a mark of ref.* [21] rac. *CFHOl,E, but in mar.* huius *E*[1] huius rac. *JK* [22] scripture *CFHJOl* scripture etc. *E* scripture Salvator noster diligens *etc.* *K, the text runs on without being interrupted, as though this new Tract (De Relig. Vanis Monach., cp. above p. 437) were part of the preceding.*

INDICES.

I. *Index of Names.*

II. *Index of Bible-Quotations.*

III. General Index.

(NB. Printed in the orthography of the text.)

A.

D.

E.

F.

G.

H.

I.

M.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

T.

U.

53*

Z.

Ey wie vrô ich was,
Do ich schreib: Deo gratias.

☞ *The Society's first Issues for* 1882 *and* 1883 *are now ready, and will be sent forthwith to those Members, and only those, who have paid their Subscriptions. The Subscriptions for* 1883 *became due on Jan.* 1, *and should be paid at once to the Hon. Sec.* **J. W. Standerwick, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C.** *Cheques to be crosst 'London and County Bank.'*

The Wyclif Society.

First Report of the Executive Committee, 1882-83.

1. *Purpose of the Society.*
2. *Members, & Advance-Subscriptions.*
3. *Manuscripts copied.*
4. *Books for* 1882 *and* 1883.
5. *Books for* 1884. *Appeal for* £1000 *for the Quincentenary Publications.*
6. *Thanks to Helpers. Miscellaneous. Hon. Sec.'s Cash Account.*

1. The Wyclif Society was founded in March, 1882, "to remove from England the disgrace of having left buried in manuscript the most important works of her great early Reformer, John Wyclif," and to ensure that the 500th anniversary of his death,[1] the year 1884, should see at work a Society which would keep on foot until all his most important genuine writings should be "given to the world through the press."

2. At least 300 Members were called for: 230 responded. Forty of these were askt to pay five years' subscription in advance, in order that Manuscripts might be copied, and forty-two did so.

3. The following Treatises have been copied, those starred (*), wholly; those daggered (†), partly; (the numbers are those of Shirley's Catalogue):—

*11. De Actibus Animae (in Shirley: De Anima).
†12. De Incarnatione Verbi (all the Oriel MS.: part of the Vienna MS.).
*14. De Dominio Divino. (In three books.)

[1] Any one having any hints to give as to the celebration of the Quincentenary, or how best to get the Wyclif Society its £1000 towards printing WYCLIF'S Works, should write to the Hon. Sec., Mr. J. W. Standerwick. The Luther Commemoration Committee will help in the Quincentenary arrangements. Wyclif died on Dec. 31, 1384.

†15. Summa Theologiae.
* Book I. De Mandatis Dei (in Shirley: De Mandatis Divinis).
* „ II. De Statu Innocentiae.
* Books III.-V. De Civili Dominio. (In three books.)
* Book VI. De Veritate S. Scripturae.
* „ VII. De Ecclesia.
* „ VIII. De Officio Regis.
† „ IX. De Potestate Papae.
* „ XII. De Blasphemia.
*23. De Eucharistia et Poenitentia.
*39. Sermo Pulcher.
*47. De Oratione Dominica.
*48. De Salutatione Angelica.
*54. Contra Magistrum Outredum.
*55. Contra Willelmum Vynham.
*59. Responsiones ad xliv quaestiones.
*60. Responsum ad decem quaestiones.
*61. Epistolae octo.
*77. De Ordine Christiano.
*92. De Praelatis Contentionum.
*94. De Graduationibus.
*95. De Gradibus Cleri Ecclesiae.

Commissions have been given for the copying of the rest of the *Summa* (namely Books X. and XI., *De Simonia* and *De Apostasia*), and of all WYCLIF's other Latin works except the Philosophical ones and the Sermons.

4. The work of the first copiers employed was not satisfactory, and the Committee found that there was no chance of producing any independent Society book till 1884. They therefore arranged with Dr. Rudolf BUDDENSIEG, of Dresden,—whose appeal to English students had in great measure led to the foundation of the Society—that the edition of *Wyclif's Polemical Works*, which he had undertaken in Germany, should be issued also here, with an English Introduction, Notes, etc., as the Society's first Publication, vol. i. for 1882, and vol. ii. for 1883, each volume consisting of about 500 pages. This work, the arrangement of which is, of course, after the German manner, is now ready, and contains—besides a very valuable appreciative account of WYCLIF and his work, critical apparatus, a list of the Vienna MSS., and full Index—the following twenty-six Polemical Tracts (Shirley's numbers are added):—

A.—Against the Sects.

De Fundatione Sectarum. (91.)
De Ordinatione Fratrum. Shirley's (84) De Concordatione Fratrum cum secta simplici Christi, sive De Sectis Monachorum. In four chapters.

De Nova Prævaricantia Mandatorum. In eight chapters. ('A very interesting Tract against the Regulars, written after the Great Schism of the West,' A.D. 1378.) (79.) Shirley's '31. **De Purgatorio**' is part of this Treatise.
De Triplici Vinculo Amoris. In ten chapters. (49.)
De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti. In 9 chapters. (27.)
De Quatuor Sectis Novellis. (1. The Priests endowed with lands and lordships; 2. The landed Monastic Orders; 3. The Canons; 4. The Begging Friars.) (85.)
Purgatorium sectæ Christi, sive **contra Religiones Privatas,** Ashburnham MS. xxvii. c. ff. 49–54. This is not in Shirley's Catalogue. It is an exhortation to put down the sects of Friars.
De Novis Ordinibus. In three chapters. (87.)
De Oratione et Ecclesiæ purgatione. In five chapters. (25.)
De Diabolo et Membris ejus. In five chapters. (29.)
De Detectione Perfidiarum Antichristi. (86.)
De Solutione Satanæ. (30.)
De Mendaciis Fratrum. (88.)
Descriptio Fratris. (89.)
De Daemonio Meridiano. (Written after 1376.) (73.)
De Duobus Generibus Hæreticorum. (96.)
De Religionibus vanis Monachorum, sive **De Fundatore Religionis.** (80.)
De Perfectione Statuum, sive **De Minoribus Fratribus se extollentibus** (against the boasting of the Franciscans). (78.)
De Religione Privata, I., II. (81, 82.)

B.—Against the Pope.

De citationibus frivolis et aliis versutiis Antichristi. (72.)
De Dissensione Paparum, sive **De Schismate** (A.D.1378). (Also in English, Shirley, No. 59, p. 48. Printed in Arnold, iii., 242.) (74.)
Cruciata. Shirley's 75. **Contra Cruciatam Papæ.** In nine chapters. (On the Crusade of the rival Popes against each other during the Great Schism.) (75.)
De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo. In fifteen chapters. (76.)
De Contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum partium ac etiam regularum. In eight chapters. (A sharp attack on the Popes and Friars.) (83.)
Quatuor Imprecationes. (Four conclusions about the state of the English Clergy.) (93.)

The two volumes, with binding, etc., will cost about £280; and in order to pay this sum, the Subscriptions for 1883 are wanted at once.

The Committee hope to add to the issue of 1883, WYCLIF's *De Incarnatione Verbi*, now at press, edited from the Vienna and Oriel MSS. by the Rev. Edward HARRIS, M.A. But until the 1883 Subscriptions come in, no decision can be arrived at about the issue of books. A sum of £200 is still wanted for copying and other non-printing expenses. Of

the Society's small income, only about £150 a year is available for printing, and this means only one volume a year. (To prevent any lowering of price of the Society's books, the number printed is limited to 500, of which 50 are given to the Editor of each Text.[1])

5. For 1884, the first volume (Books i and ii) of the *De Civili Dominio* is at press, edited by Reginald Lane POOLE, M.A., Oxford.

Mr. F. D. MATTHEW has nearly ready for press the *De Mandatis Dei* (*Divinis*, Shirley) and *De Statu Innocentiae*.

Dr. BUDDENSIEG is preparing for press the *De Veritate Sanctæ Scripturæ*.

Prof. LOSERTH of Czernowitz has in hand the *De Ecclesia*, and Mr. Poole the *De Dominio Divino*.

Mr. J. H. HESSELS of Cambridge is preparing the *De Actibus Animæ*; but it is a very difficult treatise, and he wishes to give it the time necessary for a satisfactory understanding of the scholastic philosophy involved in it.

Now if the Members of the Society will only bestir themselves and raise £1000 for the Quincentenary of WYCLIF's death, all these works, and more, can be printed and issued next year. The truest honour that can be paid to WYCLIF's memory, is to print his words, the records of his thoughts, which, to the disgrace of every Englishman, have been left unheeded in foreign libraries for now five hundred years. The monument '*aere perennius*,' which Germany is now erecting to the memory of her LUTHER, is a new critical edition of Luther's Works, of which the first volume was issued on the day of the Luther Centenary, November 10, 1883. And till all *our* great Reformer's most important Treatises are in print, no question of monument or other memorial to him need be raised. The Committee therefore repeat from the Society's Prospectus their "appeal to all who care for the Religion, the Freedom, the Language, and the History of England, for aid in the work they have undertaken. No party feeling whatever enters into the Society's plan. The only desire is, to do England's long-neglected duty to the memory of a great English Worthy."

6. The Committee wish to express their thanks, and those of the Society, to Dr. BUDDENSIEG for his admirable edition

[1] If any Subscribers to the Quincentenary Fund wish, in return, for the Society's books, the Committee will increase the number of books printed to the amount necessary for that purpose.

of Wyclif's *Polemical Works*, and to the Continental and English scholars who have undertaken to edit Wyclif's other Works for the Society. They also thank specially Mr. F. D. Matthew for copying (or paying for the copy of) the text he will edit, *De Mandatis Dei;* Mr. J. H. Hessels for his copy of the very difficult Corpus MS. of *De Actibus Animæ*; Dr. Buddensieg for superintending the copying of some Vienna MSS. at Dresden; Prof. Paul Meyer for like kindness about the Paris MSS. in the National Library there; and M. Patera for procuring copies of the Prag MSS. The Committee's thanks are also due to their Vienna copiers, Dr. Herzbergfränkel and Herr Rudolf Beer.

The Subscription to the Society is One Guinea a year, payable on every First of January. The payment of five or ten years' Subscriptions in advance will help the Society's work. All Subscriptions and Donations,—which are much desired,—should be paid to the Hon. Sec., J. W. Standerwick, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C., and Members will save both him and themselves trouble by sending him an Order on their Bankers, in the following form, to pay their subscriptions:—

________________1883.

To Messrs. ____________________

Till further order, pay to the London and County Bank, for The Wyclif Society, One Guinea now, and on every following First of January.

(*Signed*) ____________________

The Society's books are sent out by its binder, Mr. Nevett, 44, Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, London, E.C.; and to him all complaints as to non-delivery of publications, etc., should be addrest.

Every Member should recollect that the Wyclif Society always wants badly, more money and Members, and that these can only be got by his making it his business to ask every friend and acquaintance he meets, to join the Society.

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